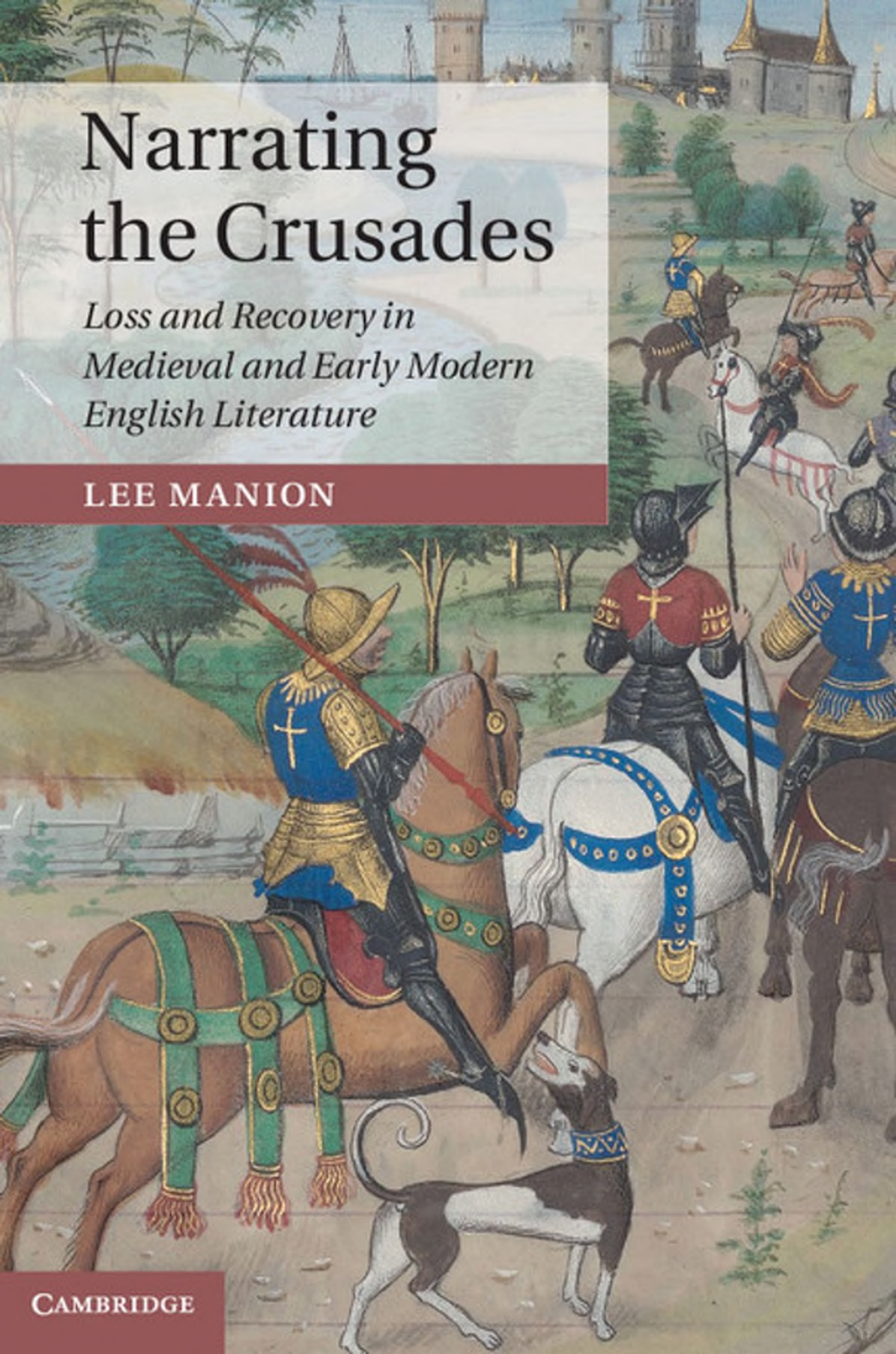


A detailed medieval manuscript illustration serves as the background for the book cover. It depicts a group of knights in full plate armor on horseback. In the foreground, a knight on a brown horse, wearing a blue surcoat with a gold cross and a green and gold decorated saddle cloth, holds a red lance. Next to him, a black and white dog stands on its hind legs, looking up at the knight. Behind them, other knights on white and brown horses are visible, some with red and white striped surcoats. The background shows a landscape with trees and a distant castle with multiple towers and spires.

Narrating the Crusades

*Loss and Recovery in
Medieval and Early Modern
English Literature*

LEE MANION

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NARRATING THE CRUSADES

In *Narrating the Crusades*, Lee Manion examines crusading's narrative-generating power as it is reflected in English literature from c. 1300 to 1604. By synthesizing key features of crusade discourse into one paradigm, this book identifies and analyzes the kinds of stories crusading produced in England, uncovering new evidence for literary and historical research as well as genre studies. Surveying medieval romances including *Richard Cœur de Lion*, *Sir Isumbras*, *Octavian*, and *The Sowdone of Babylone* alongside historical practices, chronicles, and treatises, this study shows how different forms of crusading literature address cultural concerns about collective and private action. These insights extend to early modern writing, including Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, and Shakespeare's *Othello*, providing a richer understanding of how crusading's narrative shaped the beginning of the modern era. This first full-length examination of English crusading literature will be an essential resource for the study of crusading in literary and historical contexts.

LEE MANION is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Missouri, Columbia. He is author of "The Loss of the Holy Land and *Sir Isumbras*: Literary Contributions to Fourteenth-Century Crusade Discourse," *Speculum* 85.1 (2010) and "Sovereign Recognition: Contesting Political Claims in the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* and *The Awntyrs off Arthur*," *Law and Sovereignty in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Robert S. Sturges (2011).

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NARRATING THE CRUSADES

*Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern
English Literature*

LEE MANION



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*For my parents, Barbara and Basil
And for Abby, my morning and evening star*

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I hope that this work leads to fruitful discussion, particularly with my new colleagues and students at the University of Missouri, as well as with all new readers. As Chaucer said, “Go, litel bok.”

Introduction

In 1603, in the middle of the period when William Shakespeare was writing his most famous tragedies, Richard Knolles stated in his English history of the Ottoman Turks that the Saracens were “the first champions of the Mahometane superstition, who ... yet held many great kingdomes both in Asia and Affricke, taken for the most part from the Christians.”¹ However, as Knolles explains, this now fallen “Saracen” empire – an invented medieval term typically used to describe the Muslim opponents of Christian crusaders – was replaced by that of the Turks. He notes that the Turkish empire has “from a small beginning become the greatest terror of the world, and hold[s] in subiection many great and mightie kingdomes in Asia, Europe, and Affricke ... [having] swallowed vp ... so much of Christendome as farre exceedeth that which is thereof at this day left.”² Knolles emphasizes the similarities between the two Muslim empires by stressing how much territory they have taken from Christians. Though he acknowledges that there are many causes for this perceived disaster and loss, he argues that if Christian rulers would unite their forces,

they might long since not onely haue repressed [the Turkish sultan’s] furie, and abated his pride, but ... haue againe recouered from him most of those famous Christian kingdomes, which he by force against all right holdeth at this day in most miserable subiection and thraldome; many millions of the poore oppressed Christians in the meane time out of the furnace of tribulation ... crying in vaine vnto their Christian brethren for reliefe.³

Through statements such as these, Knolles’s history creates a link between the medieval and early modern periods through an ongoing pattern of loss and recovery – one that includes Christian realms and the fate of other “oppressed Christians” – that extends back to crusading activity in the eleventh century, when “God in mercie ... stirred vp these most woorthie princes of the West ... who ... recouered the lesser ASIA, with a great part of SIRIA.”⁴ Despite being written in Protestant England, in many ways

Knolles's widely read history insists upon a continuity between the medieval and the modern world via holy violence that is seldom reflected in our popular or academic understanding of English writing.⁵

Knolles's use of the crusades to link the threat of the medieval Saracens to that of the early modern Ottoman Turks is only one example of a larger phenomenon: the narrative-generating power of crusading. For Knolles as well as for much of medieval and early modern Christian Europe, the explanation of how the Turks captured "Christian kingdoms" and how they, like the Saracens, would be defeated by united Christians extends back to 1095 when Pope Urban II at Clermont launched the series of campaigns that today are known as the First Crusade by telling a similar story of loss and recovery. There Urban is said to have reported that a "race of Persians ... rejected by God ... has invaded the lands of those Christians" in the area around Jerusalem known as the Holy Land, committing such atrocities so that only Western Christians could achieve the "task ... of taking vengeance and wresting their conquests from them," but while doing so each of them would devote himself "as a living sacrifice" to God on this "holy pilgrimage" to acquire entrance to heaven.⁶ This version of Urban's speech, which frames the First Crusade as a defensive recovery of lands elsewhere and the earning of personal salvation, is a key example of the remarkably enduring narrative structure of crusading that not only produced military conflicts throughout the Levant, Egypt, Africa, the Mediterranean, and Europe, but also resulted in an large body of propagandist, historical, and literary texts justifying, explicating, or imagining such actions.

The similarities between Urban's and Knolles's explanations rely as much on story patterns – that is, a literary structure – as on historical events to represent crusading. From the beginning, crusading had a narrative component that addressed the medieval or early modern person on the individual and collective level: it told a highly compelling yet adaptable story of vengeance and rightful possession, of personal failure and possible expiation, and of loss and recovery. I call this structural pattern one of loss and recovery because it reflects the language of crusade discourse.⁷ This book examines crusading's narrative-generating power as it is reflected in English literature from the medieval to the early modern period, specifically from *c.* 1300 to 1604. By synthesizing this pattern of loss and recovery as well as other key elements of crusade discourse into one paradigm, this study then employs that model to identify and analyze the kinds of stories that crusading produced in English literature. In so doing, it indicates how the stories themselves intersect with changing

historical and political concerns, and, by employing an interdisciplinary approach combining attention to cultural context with formal literary analysis, provides a richer understanding of crusading's continued appeal and influence long after Western Christians lost the Holy Land. English crusading literature, rather than merely reflecting historical developments, imagined alternative, albeit abstract solutions to real issues and often engaged in social criticism.

Throughout this study I use the term "crusading" rather than "the crusades" to refer to this general concept and range of behaviors, both because the recent work of historians has questioned the unitary meaning implied by the latter term and because crusading better captures how this historically distant, intolerant phenomenon blended religious discourse, experiential practices, and a narrative framework loosely channeling those practices even as it changed over the course of roughly 600 years. Crusading literature is particularly suitable for exploring several of the key questions that animate contemporary scholarship about interreligious relations and devotional activities in the Middle Ages and the early modern period because it foregrounds the tension between crusading's lofty idealism and religious prejudice and because it highlights how narratives of the past affect the present. This book explores literary representations of crusading activity in various English texts – some anonymous, popular medieval romances that are relatively unfamiliar to today's readers as well as drama by more familiar early modern authors such as Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe – and examines how those texts use crusading elements and narrative patterns as well as how audiences detected or responded to such elements. Placing these narratives in the context of historical and political writing as well as in relation to actual crusading practices, this study shows the significant effects of crusading on the English literary imagination and on English audiences, thus uncovering additional evidence for historical research and contributing to our investigation of medieval literary genres.

CRUSADING IN HISTORICAL AND LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP

Whereas crusading may conjure up images of devout but ultimately misguided armies of medieval Christian knights marching on Jerusalem to fight for their faith against the forces of Islam, the historical reality was far more complex and diverse. Drawing on and mixing pre-existing notions of sacred violence and armed pilgrimage in European Christian thought, crusading could include, among other things, a papally proclaimed

military campaign to Jerusalem, a series of knightly raids against pagans in the Baltic, a war against heretical Christians in Europe, or the armed journey of a few individuals seeking spiritual benefits, and could be accompanied by the persecution of European Jews due to frenzied zeal. Beyond the confusion caused by the sheer range of crusading activities, there is an added terminological difficulty for us, since participants and authors in the medieval and early modern periods generally did not refer to these events as crusades. Words for “crusade” or “crusading” themselves did not exist in Europe until around the thirteenth century, and a term for “crusade” only entered the English language in a very limited form as “croiserie,” derived from French, in the fourteenth century; moreover, no term for “crusader” existed until near the end of the twelfth century, when the Latin *crucesignatus* [one signed with the cross] was coined.⁸ The word “crusade” was not used frequently in modern English until well into the eighteenth century.⁹ Nonetheless, this lack of a unifying terminology arguably contributed to crusading’s longevity, as it remained capable of adapting to shifting circumstances and local conditions.

Older historical studies of crusading attempted to resolve this predicament by imposing strict definitions on what constituted a crusade and on how long the movement lasted, with many concluding that crusading was a significant factor in medieval Europe from the military campaigns of the First Crusade (1096–9) and its capture of Jerusalem until 1291 with the loss of the last mainland Christian stronghold in the Holy Land.¹⁰ More recently historians including Jonathan Riley-Smith, Norman Housley, Christopher Tyerman, Thomas Madden, and Helen Nicholson have abandoned this limited view, and instead have produced a considerable body of new scholarship that documents crusading’s influence on subjects as diverse as liturgy, preaching, trade, legal privileges, family networks, painting, sculpture, propaganda, and conceptions of medieval social orders, though they generally have considered literary works to have little value as evidence.¹¹ While exploring different crusading experiences and institutions across multiple regions during a time period extending to the seventeenth century, historians have demonstrated how crusading had always been a collection of diverse activities combining the personal and the popular, the devotional and the political, that continued to be such despite the challenges of the Reformation to its theological underpinnings. Furthermore, although still fascinated by the military campaigns that define the popular image of crusading – the sack of Constantinople by French and Venetian crusaders on the Fourth Crusade (1202–4) or Louis IX of France’s failed attempt to capture Egypt on the

Seventh Crusade (1248–54), for instance – historians have begun to study the crusading activity of individuals or small groups, particularly in the eastern Mediterranean, Iberia, or the Baltic, who sometimes acted outside of ecclesiastical authority. Therefore, as this research has shown, for a medieval or early modern audience crusading could mean either a large military campaign or the journey of a solitary pilgrim or small group.

This insight, however, generally is not reflected in English literary studies.¹² Nonetheless, there has been excellent work by literary scholars in the medieval and early modern periods on the relationship among crusading, Islam, and English identity, particularly for how literary texts can represent and transform social aspirations and anxieties related to historical crusading practices.¹³ Studies of medieval literature by Geraldine Heng and Suzanne Yeager, for example, powerfully draw attention to medieval romances that represent crusading as the action of massed armies through nuanced theoretical and historical perspectives. Heng traces the origins of the medieval romance to the aftermath of the First Crusade, and views the genre as a cultural fantasy crucial for creating the imagined communal identity of a medieval nation.¹⁴ Yeager's examination of the role of Jerusalem in crusade rhetoric demonstrates how the image of the holy city could be adapted by English authors to promote personal devotion, claims to moral superiority, or national identity. Recent work by Suzanne Conklin Akbari, by comparison, concentrates on the "relationship of religious and geographical alterity" in Western discourses of Islam and the Orient, and notes how this medieval Orientalism was used by literary works to define boundaries between Christian and Muslim.¹⁵ All of these analyses support Nicola McDonald's general argument for the recuperation of popular medieval romances, which in her view cannot be dismissed "as crude, second-rate narratives that unquestioningly reproduce established ideologies," and thus contribute to my inquiry about crusading's narrative power and cultural influence in literary texts here.¹⁶

Early modern scholars, while also exploring Orientalist discourse and national identity, tend to focus on conversion and race by discussing drama by Shakespeare and his contemporaries for its relationship to the Ottoman Turks, revealing the significant combination of curiosity and fear in English culture resulting from extensive contacts with the East. Daniel Vitkus and Matthew Dimmock, for instance, draw on and extend the insights of Nabil Matar, who contrasts the historical interactions of early modern English people and Muslims with their dramatic portrayals and, importantly, notes the persistence of crusade rhetoric in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.¹⁷ Additionally, Andrew King and Benedict

Robinson have begun to explore the influence of the medieval romance and crusading on depictions of Islam in early modern romance and drama in a way that underscores the value of considering texts from both periods together, though several aspects of the medieval tradition require further attention.¹⁸

I build on all this scholarship by considering literary texts that portray religious conflict between armies as well as those that present solitary protagonists undertaking a journey of redemption and reform; the latter have been overlooked by historians and literary scholars as crusading literature. By juxtaposing texts such as the anonymous romance *Richard Cœur de Lion*, which focuses on military conflict, with the anonymous *Sir Isumbras*, which describes a solitary journey, this book not only offers a fresh reading of traditional crusading texts but also shows how the different forms of crusading literature could address popular concerns about collective and private action while still constituting a recognizable group of stories.¹⁹ Furthermore, with this richer understanding of the medieval tradition, we can view early modern drama by Shakespeare and his contemporaries not only as focused on conversion and racial identity, as several early modern scholars argue, but also as mainly continuous with medieval narratives in advocating united Christian action against the Turks to the populace despite the conciliatory attitude of Elizabeth I's government or the anti-Catholic polemic of ardent Protestant reformers.

THE CRUSADING ROMANCE REDEFINED

The English medieval romance has vexed literary scholars seeking to impose some meaningful order on it as a genre for some time.²⁰ Scholars have debated its major characteristics, subject matter, and intended audience, as well as its relationship to French romances, epic, religious writing, and folk material; they also have attempted to explain its features by exploring the arrangement of manuscript collections or the persistence of romance motifs over time, with some even concluding that it is not a genre at all, but simply a mode.²¹ It is true that the surviving examples of English romances can appear to have little in common overall; moreover, there was not much theoretical discussion of romance as a genre during the Middle Ages, and the word "romance," originally meaning texts written in the vernacular as opposed to Latin, was rarely used with precision by medieval authors.²² Nonetheless, most academics today agree that romance did function as a meaningful category and that analysis should avoid arbitrary definition by emphasizing description over prescription.

Although this book does not address the general definition of the medieval romance, its redefinition and analysis of the subgenre of the crusading romance contributes to this larger discussion by suggesting how medieval authors and audiences could associate certain stories based on recurrent but flexible narrative features that pointed to familiar cultural discourses.

Literary critics primarily have examined the influence of crusading on medieval England through the genre of the crusading romance, which they normally define as a romance depicting the confrontation of a Christian military power with a non-Christian one in another country because the latter is non-Christian.²³ Studies of crusading in English romances, while acknowledging variations in the use of crusade discourse, tend to concentrate on a handful of texts, such as *Richard Cœur de Lion*, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, and *The Sege of Melayne*, and tend to focus on the implications of such texts for the literary parameters of the medieval romance.²⁴ Other narratives, however, including *Sir Isumbras*, *Sir Gowther*, and *Guy of Warwick*, have occupied an uncertain place in medieval English literature; they have been labeled “homiletic,” “secular hagiography,” or “penitential” romances because of their peculiar mix of chivalric concerns with religious or edifying themes.²⁵ In contrast to the traditionally discussed crusading romances, these texts often feature solitary protagonists who, through suffering or hardship, learn or display some moral, Christian virtue; furthermore, some of these texts derive their themes or major plot elements from saints’ legends or related material. Critics continue to debate the appropriate category for these romances, but in my view several of them are better understood as crusading romances, as they focus on the personal redemption and salvation of knights who battle Saracens for the defense or expansion of Christendom with or without ecclesiastical approval.

My approach to the crusading romance thus differs from previous scholarship in that I seek to redefine the genre using historians’ recent insights about the varying forms crusading could take and then explore its shifting political and cultural concerns about crusading practices themselves over time. Methodologically my view of genre development follows the broad insights of Helen Cooper’s study of romance motifs. Cooper, drawing on Alastair Fowler’s work on genre, on Hans Robert Jauss’s concept that audiences respond to a “horizon of expectation,” and on philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein’s discussion of family resemblances in classification, argues that the romance genre is “best thought of as a lineage or a family of texts” that changes over time; similar features are redeployed in different contexts and acquire new meanings as texts adapted to changing circumstances and interests.²⁶ This book identifies key features of crusade

discourse and uses them to redefine the genre of the crusading romance according to its “horizon of expectation,” or the preconceptions and cultural codes for the genre, thereby uncovering a larger array of literary texts belonging to this family. I then assess their engagement with the shifting concerns in historical crusading theory and practice by situating these romances alongside cultural documents and historical events that not only illuminate the romances’ topical responses but also reveal their imaginative innovations. Just as crusading remained a personal, penitential action that was aimed at all social levels throughout its history (albeit with shifting expectations for participation) without a definitive terminology, so too the crusading romance appealed to a wide audience, including wealthy merchants and other literate groups in addition to the nobility, without any precise genre label. Moreover, just as crusading practices modified older traditions of pilgrimage and sanctified violence to create something new, so too the various English crusading romances often adapt older sources to offer an imagined solution to crusading’s contradictions or problems and to portray a large military campaign or an individual journey for salvation or a mixture of both.

In order to investigate this genre in a descriptive fashion, I propose a formal set of family features for the crusading romance that are drawn from repeated key ideas in medieval crusade discourse, as these would shape authors’ and audiences’ expectations about what crusading meant and how references to it could be recognized. My examples here, which span the roughly 600 years of crusading history, include early historical accounts of Pope Urban II’s speech at Clermont, a fourteenth-century crusading treatise, a fourteenth-century chronicle of a military order in Prussia, and a seventeenth-century English history, though their main concepts can also be found in other forms of crusade discourse, such as papal edicts, crusade sermons, and the evidence of rituals or legal documents. By identifying these concepts in crusade discourse and using them to redefine the English crusading romance, we can assess a given text via the inclusion of these general features, though not all need be present: an ecclesiastically defined military campaign against non-Christians; individual struggles for salvation and the (re)gaining of physical or spiritual goods; the transformative imagery of the cross; the defense or reform of the church or Christendom; pilgrimages leading to or involving armed combat; and the combination of indulgences or penitence with the conversion of or conflict with non-believers. Underlying all of these features is a common narrative pattern of loss and recovery that in my view is crucial to crusade discourse and to the crusading romance. From the beginning crusading was presented not as a

war of conquest but as one of reconquest; this war, motivated by revenge or charitable love for suffering co-religionists or both, could involve the recovery of legitimate possessions for Christendom as well as the individual's "recovery" of a state free from sin.

Though there has been much debate about its foundational status, Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095 retrospectively became a focal point for crusade discourse because of the subsequent success of the First Crusade in capturing Jerusalem.²⁷ Several supposed versions of Urban's speech survive from contemporary or near contemporary sources; despite the passage of centuries and innovations in various aspects of crusading, later crusade discourse continued to highlight many of the components of this speech to describe and justify crusading. According to the anonymous *Gesta francorum* [Deeds of the Franks] (c. 1101), Urban presented crusading only as a form of personal redemption: taking the cross is a means to save one's soul through suffering, which is the reason to follow "the footsteps of Christ" in the journey to the Holy Land.²⁸ The version by Fulcher of Chartres in his *Historia Hierosolymitana* [A history of the expedition to Jerusalem] (c. 1101–28) maintains this link between personal salvation and the imagery of the cross but adds several other features, linking crusading to pilgrimage, the remission of sins, the redirection of knightly violence, and rightful ownership:

You must hasten to carry aid to your brethren dwelling in the East ... For the Turks ... have attacked them ... They have seized more and more of the lands of the Christians, have ... killed or captured many people, have destroyed churches, and have devastated the kingdom of God. If you allow them to continue much longer they will conquer God's faithful people more extensively ... For all those going thither there will be remission of sins ... Let those ... who are accustomed to wantonly wage private war against the faithful march upon the infidels ... Let those who have long been robbers now be soldiers of Christ ... Let those who have been hirelings for a few pieces of silver now attain an eternal reward.²⁹

Noting how Muslims "terras Christianorum ... occupando" [seized ... the lands of the Christians], "ecclesias subvertendo" [destroyed churches], and have "regnum Dei vastando" [devastated God's kingdom], Fulcher's version concludes that the crusaders must drive these people from "regionibus nostrorum" [our lands] as a way of protecting the church and of reclaiming lost property.³⁰ Fulcher's much fuller explanation of Urban's speech broadens the *Gesta's* focus on personal salvation to include political claims and an implicit pattern of loss and recovery; this tendency can also be seen in Robert the Monk's popular version (c. 1107), which contains many of the same main ideas, such as the sign of the cross, the lost lands, and

a pilgrimage resulting in salvation, but his text adds two other components by describing how Muslims forcibly converted Christians and how the “ulciscendum ... labor” [task ... of taking vengeance] falls to the crusaders.³¹ At an early date, then, crusade discourse had already established a group of related concepts that explained crusading and that could be invoked by literary authors to represent crusading practices.

The three other early accounts of Urban's speech by Baldric of Dol (c. 1108), Guibert of Nogent (c. 1108), and William of Malmesbury (c. 1125) repeat equivalent ideas, stressing how fellow Christians, the church, and Christian lands have been attacked, how crusading can lead to or prevent conversion, and how the crusaders would gain the possessions of the enemy as well as the “gloriosum martyrii munus” [glorious reward of martyrdom].³² Significantly, William's account, the only version by an English author, is found in his *Gesta regum Anglorum* [History of the English kings]; it stresses that “there was no [people] so remote ... as not to send some part of itself” on the journey and that Robert II of Normandy took “English and Normans” with him, thus providing a wider sense of the regions participating and indicating how English authors could view the First Crusade not as a “French” invention but as part of their shared historical experience through the Normans.³³ While never losing sight of the *Gesta's* concern for individual salvation, most early accounts of Urban's speech elaborate ideas of holy warfare and individual pilgrimage that constitute, in the words of historian Christopher Tyerman, an “intrinsic duality” in crusading, since it balanced military aid and motivation with the “transcendent purpose of serving God ... as an individual and collective act of piety and redemption.”³⁴

This duality and several of crusading's key ideas expressed in the Christian historical sources can also be found in the perspective of groups that found themselves the victims of crusader attacks, thus confirming the prevalence of this general understanding of crusading. In the Hebrew crusade chronicle known today as the *Mainz Anonymous*, perhaps composed during the First Crusade, the chronicler describes the unauthorized slaughter and forced conversion of European Jewish communities in the Rhineland, including cities such as Speyer, Worms, and Mainz, by groups of crusaders in 1096.³⁵ This series of massacres resulted in the deaths of thousands of Jews, many of whom killed their own families and themselves rather than be forcibly converted. The chronicler understands the crusaders' overall purpose and remarks on their behavior, relating that they “united and decided ... to wage war, and to clear a way to Jerusalem, the Holy City, and to come to the tomb of the crucified one.”³⁶ However,

as the chronicler explains, on their way the crusaders “said to each other: ‘Look now, we are going to a distant country ... to conquer the kingdoms which do not believe in the crucified one, when actually it is the Jews who murdered and crucified him’,” so they “declared that either we should accept their abominable faith or else they would annihilate us all” and “placed an evil symbol – a vertical line over a horizontal one – on their garments.”³⁷ Here the chronicler identifies from an outsider’s perspective the central concepts of crusading found in Christian sources, including the imagery of the cross, conversion, the conquest of non-believers’ lands, and the destination of Jerusalem and Jesus’ tomb, which are combined with a desire to avenge Jesus’ death – with disastrous results.

These ideas describing crusading and attributed to Urban, which form the basis for the features of the redefined crusading romance, would be repeated implicitly and explicitly in later chronicles and treatises, as well as in literary texts such as the Old French poem *Chanson d’Antioche* (c. 1200–50), which in one version depicts the “knighthood of France and England and all of Normandy” at the council of Clermont and has Urban declare, “We have lost the Promised Land ... This land is lost as the people of Mohammed possess it ... Let each of you take the cross, the staff and the scrip to go and avenge Jesus for the great dishonour the Persians and Slavs have inflicted on your land.”³⁸ The emphasis on lost lands in the militant *Chanson d’Antioche* is analyzed more formally by two fourteenth-century texts, namely Marino Sanudo’s Latin treatise *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* [Book of the secrets of the faithful of the cross] (1307–21) and Nicholas of Jeroschin’s German *Kronike von Pruzinlant* [Chronicle of Prussia] (1331–41). In Sanudo’s lengthy treatise, which explains in detail how the Holy Land could be recovered after its loss in 1291, he includes an entire section on the history of the Holy Land that extends from biblical history, the rise of Islam, Urban’s speech at Clermont, and the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem to recent crusading history. Sanudo prefaces this history with the remark that he speaks “sometimes spiritually, sometimes temporally and sometimes both together,” stressing crusading’s significance for personal salvation and political conquest.³⁹ He then links crusading history to the pattern of loss and recovery, asserting that “From tales ... from history, we can see when the Holy Land went under the yoke of perdition and when it left the Christian rite ... [and] what must be done regarding this affair, to save the land from the force of the infidels and keep it forever.”⁴⁰ By comparison, in his chronicle Nicholas, a chaplain of the Teutonic Knights, utilizes this pattern of loss and recovery even more explicitly. In the midst of his narrative of the Knights’ struggles to

subdue and convert pagans in the Baltic as part of what one historian has described as a “perpetual crusade,” Nicholas pauses to reflect upon the loss of the Holy Land in 1291, informing his reader, “Now you should note what happened in the past and realise that the Holy Land has often changed hands.”⁴¹ He then proceeds to relate a highly condensed history of the Holy Land from Mohammed to the First Crusade to the end of the thirteenth century, in which God variously “oppressed the heathens and raised up the Christians” and then “the devil ... poisoned all praise and brought about the Christians’ downfall by making them sin.”⁴² In this manner, Nicholas explains, Christians “regained the Holy Land, only to lose it again thereafter,” and “This exchange went on for a long time.”⁴³ Nicholas’s seeming digression on the loss of the Holy Land, as with Sanudo’s more lengthy treatment of crusading history, demonstrates how fourteenth-century crusading practices were discussed through the main concepts expressed in early crusade discourse, even though conditions in regions like Prussia were dramatically different. Additionally, Sanudo and Nicholas’s application of crusading history to their present shows how literary texts similarly could invoke past events as part of an ongoing debate about crusading’s role and direction.

The key ideas informing crusade discourse continue to manifest in the early modern period. For instance, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, in a 1453 letter stated, “With great effort, Charlemagne first laid claim to the Holy Land; thereafter it was lost, but was reclaimed by Godfrey,” thus extending the structure of loss and recovery backward in time by pairing Charlemagne’s fictional conquest with that of the First Crusade.⁴⁴ More importantly for English thought, the Protestant Thomas Fuller’s *Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639), despite its disdain for the Catholic doctrine, recounts Urban’s speech as the basis for crusading in terms remarkably consistent with medieval discourse:

First, he bemoaned the miseries of the Christians in Asia, and the vastation of those holy places. Jerusalem, which was once the joy of the whole earth, was now become the grief of all good men ... Next, he encouraged the Princes in the Council, to take arms against those infidels, and to break their bonds in sunder ... Otherwise, if they would not help to quench their neighbours houses, they must expect the speedy burning of their own, and that these barbarous nations would quickly overrun all Europe. Now to set an edge on their courage, he promised to all that went this voyage, a full remission of their sinnes & penance here, and the enjoying heaven hereafter.⁴⁵

Though not explicitly mentioning the imagery of the cross, Fuller’s account still focuses on penance, personal sin, war against infidels, the

rescue of co-religionists, and the recovery of the “holy places,” including Jerusalem. Fuller also subsequently describes the army of the First Crusade as “a medley of nations” on “pilgrimage” that comprised “four elementall nations,” the “French, Dutch, Italian, and English,” recalling William of Malmesbury’s emphasis on English participation.⁴⁶ As such, Fuller’s *Historie* reveals how early modern authors understood crusading, or what Fuller calls a “Holy warre” fought by “Croised Pilgrimes,” through certain key ideas that can be traced back to early examples of medieval crusade discourse.⁴⁷ Taken together these examples, ranging from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, do not provide a definition of crusading – a subject still vigorously contested by historians – but they do provide a group of related concepts that remained relatively stable and that could invoke the idea of crusading for English audiences despite its changes over time.

Thus, rather than basing our notion of the crusading romance solely on a text’s literal description of a historical crusade, as in *Richard Cœur de Lion*’s imagined account of the Third Crusade, or only on the broad notion of warfare against a different religious group, as in *The Siege of Jerusalem*’s battle between the Romans and the Jews, these key concepts in historical crusade discourse should form the basis for the family of features defining the genre of the crusading romance. Reformulating the English crusading romance in this way resolves the perceived conflict between the devotional and chivalric interests of *Sir Isumbras* or *Sir Gowther*, since crusade discourse blended these components together in a mutually supportive manner, and reveals a more robust and diverse genre that extends from the fourteenth to the late sixteenth century, including as a working group of texts *Richard Cœur de Lion* (c. 1300), *Sir Isumbras* (c. 1330), *Guy of Warwick* (c. 1330), *Octavian* (Southern version) (c. 1375), *The Siege of Jerusalem* (c. 1370–90), *Sir Gowther* (c. 1400), *The Sege of Melayne* (c. 1400), *Titus and Vespasian* (c. 1400), *The Sowdone of Babylone* (c. 1400), *Capysstranus* (c. 1475), William Caxton’s *Godeffroy of Boloyn* (1481) and *Charles the Grete* (1485), Lord Berners’s *Huon of Bordeaux* (c. 1515), and Richard Johnson’s *The Seven Champions of Christendom* (1596–7).⁴⁸

To be clear, I do not propose that every romance that mentions some aspect of crusading must be a crusading romance; many romances contain minor references to such activity, depict romanticized travel to the East, or employ the term “Saracen” to describe antagonists in a way that has little to do with crusading. Furthermore, while it is important for scholars to identify the widespread use of crusading rhetoric in a variety of vernacular texts, such as Geoffrey Chaucer’s *The Canterbury Tales* or John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, they do not qualify as crusading romances because

they do not relate a story directly involving crusading combat or ideology. However, examining the ways in which medieval and early modern English texts represent crusading activity not only confirms historians' latest findings about crusading's surprising longevity and diversity, but also, I suggest, reveals previously unrecognized aspects of pre-modern vernacular literature and its influence on early modern English writing.

THE ARGUMENTS OF ENGLISH CRUSADING LITERATURE

This book follows a chronological progression in English crusading literature in its four chapters in order to demonstrate the texts' gradual evolution as well as the limitations caused by a strict periodization in medieval and early modern scholarship. The first three chapters form a unit and explore the development of the English crusading romance from its origins in the early fourteenth century through its fifteenth-century variations. In the first chapter I examine a text traditionally understood as a crusading romance, *Richard Cœur de Lion* (c. 1300), which portrays the deeds of Richard I of England on the Third Crusade (1189–92) in an embellished and often fantastic manner, in the context of chronicle sources about English and Norman participation in the campaigns of the Second and Third Crusades. These sources reveal a developing lexicon of “associational forms,” a term I derive from the work of David Wallace and Marion Turner to describe voluntary collective structures that envision an equality among members, for crusading activity and thought.⁴⁹ Although *Richard Cœur de Lion* has been discussed mainly in terms of its nationalistic sentiment, I argue that the poem, composed shortly after the loss of the last major stronghold in the Holy Land in 1291, also creates and applies a vocabulary of associational forms to its narrative of failed conquest in order to address fourteenth-century crusading concerns. This vocabulary informs the poem's key scenes of negotiation where various associational forms are imagined, created, dissolved, or refused. In the end, the poem offers an imagined and uncommon solution, which mixes the models of the earlier chronicles and differs from most contemporary crusading proposals, that preserves the notion of a collective partnership, condemns the violation of crusaders' temporal privileges, and advocates an aggressive policy of forced conversion. In this respect, *Richard Cœur de Lion* attests strongly to what I call the “anti-national” aspects of crusading in English writing, meaning not that it simply contains views oppositional to nationalistic thinking but that it points out those alternative

political forms that ran parallel to and were not yet subsumed by the discourse of nationalism and the state.

The second chapter examines the short romance *Sir Isumbras* (c. 1330), which scholars have failed to classify as a crusading romance since it lacks a military campaign, and how the poem reveals the variety of crusading thought and literature because of its focus on the personal and penitential. *Sir Isumbras* was composed shortly after *Richard Cœur de Lion* but adopts a different approach to crusading's evident failures in the early fourteenth century. The chapter begins by discussing historical examples of individual crusading, including the varied activities of Otho de Grandson (c. 1238–1328), a household knight of Edward I who was present at the fall of Acre, the last major Christian stronghold in the Holy Land. It then considers two other aspects of post-Acre crusade discourse, namely the so-called popular crusades, which operated outside ecclesiastical control and expressed the frustration of the lower classes and lesser nobles with crusading's direction, and the calls for reform found in the chronicles of Acre's fall, which blamed knightly inaction and sin for the Christian defeat. Together this evidence reveals how *Sir Isumbras's* tale of a solitary knight who is punished by God for his pride and regains his family and wealth only by a miraculous conquest of the Holy Land participates in a larger community of discourse that responded to the Holy Land's loss. Despite the poem's abstract quality, its topical engagement with contemporary discourse is evident in its use of a new *topos*, that of the self-signed crusader, in which Isumbras's private assumption of the cross implicitly rejects ecclesiastical ritual and authority over crusading. Furthermore, *Sir Isumbras* represents the reform of knighthood through the conquest, forcible conversion, and foundation of new Christian kingdoms in the East in a way that echoes the concerns of the popular crusades and chronicles. When viewed as a crusading romance that depends upon, in the poem's term, a "privy" [private] crusading endeavor and bond between husband and wife that justifies Christian claims to rule in the East, the poem no longer appears divided between chivalric and religious interests; instead, its fundamental unity and significance as a representation of a different strand of crusade discourse become apparent.

The third chapter continues this investigation of alternate forms of crusading with later romances, namely *Octavian* (c. 1375) and *The Sowdone of Babylone* (c. 1400), two texts that scholars typically do not consider to be related. Before analyzing these romances, this chapter establishes the variety of crusade discourse in the late fourteenth century by comparing two key examples: Philippe de Mézières's *Epistre au Roi Richart*

[Letter to King Richard II] (1395), a crusading treatise proposing a marriage alliance and joint crusade between England and France, and John Clanvowe's *The Two Ways* (1391), a vernacular religious treatise written by the English crusading knight before his death on pilgrimage outside Constantinople. Mézières's text, replete with odd parables, indicates how condensed, abstract narratives could be employed to encapsulate and discuss crusading issues, while Clanvowe's text, when read in light of his voluntary participation in the Mahdia crusade and subsequent pilgrimage, applies a larger cultural interest in imitating Jesus to the idea of knightly reform through private crusading. Having considered these new variations in crusade discourse, the chapter turns to the romances, which examine related issues and crusading's changing spheres of activity in a literary context by reworking existing material. In this way they further elaborate and develop the contrast in *Sir Isumbras* and *Richard Cœur de Lion* between private crusading and holy warfare, in some instances favoring one strand of thought over the other and in some cases blending the two. *Octavian*, which tells the tale of the twin sons of the Roman emperor Octavian, who eventually reunite their family after having saved Paris, their father, grandfather, and four other Christian kings from an invading sultan, constructs an associational relationship among Christian rulers centered upon the Holy Roman emperor as crusade leader. By comparison, *The Sowdone of Babylone* combines the story of the destruction of Rome by an invading sultan and his son, Ferumbras, with the eventual conversion of Ferumbras and his sister Floripas, the defeat of the sultan, and the conquest of Iberia by Charlemagne and his twelve peers; as I argue, the poem responds abstractly to broad English interests in the Spanish *reconquista*, especially in view of John of Gaunt's recent crusade and marriage alliances there. Taken together these romances, which portray crusading conflicts in France, the eastern Mediterranean, and Iberia, show how the crusading romance evolved along with contemporary crusading practices and debates. By including these narratives as English crusading romances, the genre no longer comprises a small group of texts and devotional pilgrimage literature focused on the Holy Land, as some previous studies have suggested; instead, it becomes an evolving body of writing that continued to rework concepts of religious warfare and personal salvation over time and through different semi-fictional crusade geographies.

The fourth and final chapter moves into the early modern period and discusses how English Protestant authors use the narrative structure and ideology of the crusading romance as a means to rethink their own relation to the religious and political practices of Europe even as they denied

aspects of crusading's underlying theology. Drawing on historical studies that have questioned the firm separation of the modern world from the "barbaric" Middle Ages, I begin with a reassessment of crusading's role in shaping the beginning of the modern era, especially its effects on humanist thought, exploration, English printing, and the uneven progress of the Reformation. After demonstrating the influence of the crusading romance on early modern English culture while also acknowledging the genre's decline in the late sixteenth century, this chapter examines how certain poetic and dramatic works remained indebted to and utilized the crusading romance's narrative structure and features. As I demonstrate, texts as diverse as James VI of Scotland's (later James I of England) *Lepanto* (1585), Book I of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590), Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587–90), Thomas Heywood's *The Four Prentices of London, with the Conquest of Jerusalem* (c. 1592), and Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice* (1604) reveal how Protestant authors adapted the medieval crusading tradition in order to imagine a Christendom allied against the dominant military power of the age, the Ottoman Turks. Throughout my examination these literary texts are considered in light of English historical approaches to crusading found in Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) and Thomas Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639), which sought to explain the meteoric rise of the Turks and which comprise the first original historical accounts of crusading in English. In general, early modern authors, while abandoning the nominal aspects of crusading and allegiance to the pope, did not abandon crusading's idealized vision of a cooperative Christendom. Instead, they transformed the narrative of loss and recovery of the crusading romance in a manner innovative yet familiar to English audiences, thus reimagining England's relationship to its crusading past and critiquing contemporary behavior. Overall, this chapter offers a different interpretative framework – one based on the persistence of the medieval tradition in early modern English writing – for scholars who find Orientalism's explanation of attitudes toward the Turks or the more general study of alterity constricting; furthermore, it identifies new evidence of early modern English interest in crusading for historians and literary scholars.

In its conclusion, the book returns to its key questions about the reasons for crusading's lasting influence on the English imagination and about how such a troubling invention of the medieval past continues to generate narratives. After recapitulating the book's major arguments, this section briefly discusses Francis Bacon's *An Advertisement Touching an Holy Warre* (1622–3), an incomplete dialogue by the English humanist and

statesman that deliberates upon the legitimacy and possibility of a crusade against the Turks. Though the *Advertisement* is seldom studied today, it was praised and directly cited by Fuller in his *Historie of the Holy Warre* for its analysis of the criteria determining the justice of an invasive war. While the early modern world of Bacon and Fuller differed considerably from that of the early crusaders in the eleventh century, Bacon's dialogue examines many of the same challenges, making its unfinished status a fitting symbol for crusading's role in early modern England.

Although crusading as a viable religious practice ended in the seventeenth century, the forms of crusading presented in literary texts reveal how the concept altered or enabled medieval and early modern thought about issues such as social roles, religious experience, or political action.⁵⁰ Recently scholars have explored the reinvention of crusading rhetoric in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries to serve colonial and imperialist purposes, usefully reminding us that the modern era, while quite different from medieval political configurations, is not immune to the language and reality of religious violence.⁵¹ In scholarship today discomfort with holy war and distaste for the aesthetics of popular romances still inhibit a full understanding of the crusading romance's influence on English culture and imagination. The medieval crusading romances are not pretty, but they do illustrate the persistent power of narrative in shaping human experience and in perpetuating a loose, evolving collection of practices that claimed the aspirations of medieval men and women, as well as those of their early modern counterparts, for centuries.

An anti-national Richard Cœur de Lion
Associational forms and the English crusading romance

Each crusader took a ... vow ... The oath he swore was to God, not to the pope or to any other man ... Although it was customary to select a "commander in chief," the title was honorary. Even crusading kings found it difficult to maintain control over a crusade ... A crusade army was, in effect, a loosely organized mob of soldiers, clergy, servants, and followers heading in roughly the same direction for roughly the same purposes.

Thomas Madden, *New Concise History of the Crusades*

The medieval crusading army was a curious blend of an individual's religious aims and barely regulated collective action. That is, the concept of holy warfare with a personal, penitential component not only unleashed massive energy throughout Western Europe but also created opportunities for temporary political alignments among groups from varying social levels. This chapter charts a beginning for a literary tradition of crusading thought in English that extends to the seventeenth century by investigating how these general crusading alignments relate to literary representations of large crusading forces. Specifically, I examine the anonymous Middle English romance *Richard Cœur de Lion* (composed *c.* 1300), which recounts the partly exaggerated, partly fictional deeds of Richard I of England on the Third Crusade (1189–92). This poem, hereafter the *Richard*, is one of the few often labeled an English crusading romance by literary scholars, and has been the subject of recent studies that describe it as an attempt to imagine and define the English nation.² These studies typically focus on the work's anti-French and anti-Muslim invective as well as the much-discussed cannibalism episode, in which the sick king eats the cooked head of a Saracen prisoner, for how they create a sense of communal identity. Although historically crusading was sometimes used in a manner coinciding with what we could call nationalistic interests – a good example is the 1383 campaign led by Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich,

against Flanders to secure English interests – in this chapter I expand upon the work of previous scholars on communal identity by arguing that on the whole medieval English attitudes towards crusading emphasized the creation of communities across regional and linguistic divides.³ In other words, crusading offered an opportunity for associational, temporary, and sometimes anti-hierarchical forms of political action that were typically separate from national concerns; moreover, literary evidence, such as that provided by the *Richard*, is a resource largely overlooked by historians and literary scholars for exploring how crusading practices and medieval attitudes towards them responded to shifting conditions and concepts of holy war over time.

Associational forms, exemplified in the Middle Ages by group organizations as diverse as guilds, fellowships, fraternities, companies, leagues, and certain city-states, may seem more difficult to define or identify than proto-nationalistic ones. My use of the term “associational form” is indebted to David Wallace and Marion Turner, both of whom use it to discuss Geoffrey Chaucer’s fellowship of pilgrims and collection of stories in *The Canterbury Tales*.⁴ Similar to Wallace’s and Turner’s approaches, I employ the term to highlight structures of political and religious organization that were not particular to England but were common across Western Europe; however, I extend this term to describe the organizational assumptions behind most crusading practices. These practices differ from those linked to the medieval “nation,” which has been discussed mainly in terms following Benedict Anderson’s notion of an “imagined community” created by the self-identification of one’s group against others through territorial boundaries and political jurisdiction, as well as an emphasis on the cohesive role of a shared language.⁵ Associational forms, by contrast, are collective structures of variable size that envision an equality among members, but that nonetheless can contain hierarchical, political, or linguistic divisions; also, similar to nations, they are often positioned in opposition to other groups.⁶

Historians have studied the major crusading campaigns’ varied modes of authority and command extensively, particularly examining the effects of kinship and lordship on recruitment and the formation of regional contingents; they also have debated crusaders’ motivations for participation, such as the potential for material gain, the effects of the monastic reforms on lay devotional practices, or the chivalric aspirations of the warrior class.⁷ Still, comparatively little attention has been paid to how crusaders and medieval contemporaries viewed the temporary, cooperative political structures formed among such contingents or even between individuals

from differing regions or localities as part of crusading's appeal. In this respect, I argue that the *Richard* reveals the "anti-national" aspects of crusading, which inform the poem's key scenes of negotiation where various associational forms are imagined, created, dissolved, or refused. In calling these associations "anti-national," I am using the Greek prefix "anti" not solely to mean "opposed to" medieval nationalism, but also in its secondary senses, meaning "equal to" or "instead of," as a way of tracing a history of alternative political forms that runs alongside (and occasionally intersects with) the history of nationalism and the state.⁸

In order to explore how the *Richard* contributes its own version of an associational crusading form to fourteenth-century crusade discourse, I first examine a historical account of English crusading practices during the Second Crusade for its depictions of collective political action. Then I compare descriptions of associational forms in two chronicles of the Third Crusade with the *Richard*'s literary representation; together, these texts' vocabulary for associational forms is far richer than that for protonationalistic ones. It is this lexicon that underlies and structures the poem's presentation of the ideal crusader army as a "fellowship" of diverse, non-nationalistic forces, and that is used by the poem to address what it views as major concerns arising after the loss of the Holy Land in 1291, specifically that the violation of crusader privileges by other Christians and the failure of crusaders to forcibly convert captured Muslims were preventing the recovery of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Furthermore, I argue that the poem qualifies as an example of the redefined genre of the crusading romance, discussed in the Introduction, because of several individual features and because of its structural use of crusading's narrative pattern of loss and recovery; indeed, the *Richard* includes major strands of crusading thought that later English crusading romances would continue to address, thus functioning as a kind of foundational text for the genre. As a work circulating after the fall of Acre, the last mainland possession of the Latin kingdom in the East, and in the midst of widespread discussion of crusading reform across Western Europe, the *Richard* does not simply recount the events of the Third Crusade but uses its retrospective look at that campaign – one notably wrecked by the breakdown of agreements among Christians – to test the limits of crusading's shifting collective forms for achieving unified action. In this respect, the poem itself is part of a larger history of English crusading practices and literature; as the earliest extant example of the English crusading romance, the poem participates in a tradition that portrays an alternative set of political forms to the national, sovereign state and that, as future chapters contend, continued to resonate in the early modern period.

ASSOCIATIONAL FORMS AND ENGLISH CRUSADING BEFORE
THE THIRD CRUSADE

The interregional category of “Franks” employed during the First Crusade usefully challenges our assumptions about what constitutes an “English” identity or marks English involvement in crusading.⁹ This collective term, which potentially linked the Norman conquerors of England and Sicily with many of the participants in the First Crusade, also indicated how crusading might function as a kind of associational form, and thus provided a possible conceptual model to later generations of English authors.¹⁰ Nonetheless, it is during the campaigns known as the Second Crusade (1145–9) that we find the first significant historical source describing in detail the crusading practices of what it labels as English, not just Norman, crusaders. By examining this source’s narrative of collective political action before considering the later chronicle and poetic presentations of Richard I’s campaign, we can see that associational forms were not new in English crusading practices and writing, but they did develop over time by blending literary and legal elements into a new vocabulary that served to validate and regulate such temporary organizations.

During the Second Crusade, while Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France were marching to the Holy Land, a contingent of more than 10,000 crusaders from England, Scotland, Wales, Normandy, Flanders, Germany, and the Low Countries set sail from Dartmouth in 1147 for the Holy Land and stopped along the way in the recently created kingdom of Portugal.¹¹ There this contingent, which was not led by high-ranking aristocrats but was composed of the “middle ranks of society, lesser landowners, knights, burgesses, merchants, and priests,” agreed at the invitation of Alfonso I of Portugal to participate in the siege of Moorish-controlled Lisbon in 1147 and captured the city.¹² The events leading up to and during the siege are recorded in an eyewitness chronicle in Latin, possibly by an Anglo-Norman priest named Raol, known as the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* [The conquest of Lisbon].¹³ Though surviving only in a single manuscript today, this text was available to later English authors because scholars believe that it may have belonged to a priory in Norwich, but certainly resided somewhere in England.¹⁴ Until recently, most historians agreed that the participation of the crusaders in the siege was entirely unplanned; however, some now believe that the Portuguese corresponded with the crusaders before their arrival.¹⁵ Regardless, this participation in an unplanned or at least not fully formulated siege far from their intended goal of Jerusalem shows crusaders from England acting in conjunction with

warriors from diverse regions at an early date – it was neither an “English” nor a “German” nor a “Flemish” crusade, but a confederation. As Joseph Huffman notes, the diversity of the “venture shows ... the interregional cooperation and interaction created by crusading,” one that continues the practice established during the First Crusade.¹⁶

Unlike the First Crusade, however, the record of the campaign in the *De expugnatione* also provides a detailed account of how crusaders created a temporary associational form, described by the author as a “coniurat[a] societa[s]” (104) [oath-bound association], which they then adapted to the circumstances of the siege of Lisbon.¹⁷ Christopher Tyerman explains that the crusaders’ arrangements for the journey and handling of the siege reveal “the sophisticated organisation and self-regulation whereby the many small and not always harmonious groups of crusaders formed a sworn mutual association which bound them together under a series of agreed rules”; Jonathan Phillips adds that “experience of earlier campaigns, probably including the First Crusade, had demonstrated the need for groups from different regions (and speaking different languages) to create a strict framework in which to operate.”¹⁸ A look at the vocabulary employed by the *De expugnatione* to describe this mutual association and its methods of decision-making establishes the notion that contemporaries – including the English – viewed crusading practices as capable of creating a temporary “society” that could make political agreements with other leaders without requiring a single authority figure such as a king or duke to lead them, and thus provides context for the *Richard’s* examination of crusading’s associational forms.

The *De expugnatione* begins by emphasizing the mixed composition of the forces, saying that “men of divers nations, customs, and speech” (53) gathered at Dartmouth. As the author continues, “Among these people of so many different tongues the firmest guarantees of peace and friendship were taken; and, furthermore, they sanctioned very strict laws” (57); these laws included regulations about display, women, confession, and a judicial system.¹⁹ In no way does the chronicler express any surprise that the crusaders would dare to form such an association or to institute their own rules; on the contrary, while he expresses wonder at the miraculous visions and exotic creatures encountered on the journey, he assumes that his audience will regard this association as quite natural.

Furthermore, the vocabulary employed by the chronicler to describe the crusader forces mixes social, cooperative terms, such as “amicitia” [friendship] and “concordia” [concord], with legal terms, such as “leges” [laws], “constituti” [constituted], and “electi ... iudices” [elected judges].²⁰ The

combination of these lexicons into one new vocabulary binds together the crusaders from diverse regions in a manner that still recognizes their continued difference from one another and yet subsumes it under the larger oath of what the author calls “nostra societate” (98) [our society]. That is, the inclusion of Latin legal terms and processes elevates the otherwise commonplace companionship of the crusaders into something more substantial, in effect incorporating them into a quasi-legal entity endowed with a stronger sense of purpose and cohesion. A spatial representation of how this “society” both maintains and contains difference can be seen in how the Christian forces camp during the actual siege of Lisbon: the Anglo-Normans camp in one area, the Germans and Flemings in another, and the Portuguese in a third, while they all continue to coordinate attacks and work to preserve unity.²¹ This delicate balance of difference-within-unity is, as I see it, a key feature of crusading’s associational forms that is frequently oversimplified as a homogenous and universal Christendom; this universalizing impulse is then misunderstood as functioning in direct opposition to local, regional, or even protonational differences. In addition to modifying this binary view of unity and difference, the *De expugnatione* reveals the broad awareness of the difficulty of sustaining this difference-within-unity when the crusaders first arrive in Portugal and the bishop of Oporto instructs them in his sermon to avoid “invidia” (74) [envy] and to promote “dilectio” (74) [affection], as they are “socios” (74) [allies]; moreover, he urges the crusaders to continue to show “similitudo” and “collateralitatus” (76) [likeness, associativeness] in the “sanctita[s] societatis vestre” (84) [sanctity of your society].²² From the point of view of an outsider such as the bishop, the continuance of the crusaders’ special, holy society depends upon the ongoing cultivation of “associativeness” and the avoidance of hostile feelings. As their encounter with Alfonso I and subsequent participation in the siege would demonstrate, this reminder by the bishop is not empty rhetoric, for under those pressures the initial agreement fails and must be reconstituted in order for the crusaders to maintain their association.

When the crusader forces first meet with Alfonso, several disputes threaten their unity. The most serious instance occurs when the persistent disagreement of some of the Normans and English with the majority position threatens to tear apart the association, raising the possibility of the expulsion and excommunication of the dissenters. The text’s repeated stress on the constituting, equalizing oath as the bond preserving their society marks the crusader forces as an associational form, but the threat of excommunication suggests that this bond was understood in terms of

the larger devotional aspects of crusading practices. Although there is no indication that excommunication could be enforced in this temporary and theoretically equitable crusading society, the text describes the resolution of this disagreement as occurring through a direct contrast of political forms. The chronicler presents Hervey de Glanvill, an English leader and landholder, as preserving the crusader society through a speech to the disagreeing Normans and English in which he states, recalling the bishop of Oporto's warning, that "invidia" (106) [envy] has destroyed the "karitas" (108) [charity] and "dilectio" (108) [affection] of their pilgrimage, and that they are committing the "sin of a violated association" (107). Hervey then appeals to the common medieval metaphor of the body politic by likening their actions to various body parts denying "mutue servitutis" (106) [mutual service] to one another. However, unlike some depictions of the body politic where the point is that the lower members are naturally subservient to the head, Hervey's metaphor stresses equality, not hierarchy, by comparing one foot to the other, one hand to its partner, or the relationship of tongue and palate (106); in fact, the head is never mentioned at all. In the end, Hervey offers the dissenters "dominium" (110) [lordship] over the rest of the Normans if they will stay, and his humbling of himself persuades them to remain part of the unified society and work with the king. Significantly, it is through the direct presentation of contrasting models of political action – the "mutual service" of the society against the alternative, more authoritarian model of "dominium" over others – that the dissenters yield and the crusading association is maintained. From this exchange we can see not only that crusading offered an alternative form of political action to a hierarchical model of lordship, but that contemporaries were aware of the distinction and could be persuaded by it to reject actions that would otherwise be considered advantageous if their aims were determined by protonationalistic concerns.

After the crusader society is tested by internal disagreement and is once again unanimous, the crusaders fashion a formal agreement or treaty with Alfonso that further reveals the operating assumptions behind the difference-within-unity of their society. The importance of the written charter or "testamentum" (110) goes beyond what it tells us about Alfonso's concessions in order to gain Lisbon; the "conventionis pactum" [covenant of agreement] (110) describes the terms as made between Alfonso and the "Francos" [Franks] (110), not the Normans, English, Flemish, or Germans. Indeed, in the space of roughly twenty-two lines, the treaty refers to the crusaders as Franks three times and never by their regional identities. In a formal, written agreement, then, the crusaders take on a new collective

identity – they have all become Franks – in a way that locates this siege within the larger explanatory framework of crusading warfare. While it is true that “Franks” had been used as a general name for crusaders from various regions since the First Crusade, for a text like the *De expugnatione* that pays such close attention to linguistic and regional difference this description of the diverse crusaders by the single, unified identity of “Franks” seems to denote a deliberate subsuming or reconstituting of their society.

Together these references to “Franks” in the text establish that the covenant with Alfonso is a critical turning point in many ways: not only was it necessary for the crusaders to resolve their internal disagreement and maintain their oath in order to be able to form the treaty in the first place, but doing so also allowed them to redefine their unity under a new name and to negotiate with Alfonso as an equal political entity, all without eliminating the acknowledgment of their regional difference. This exchange between king and temporary crusader society shows that the ordinary medieval vocabulary of “alliance” is insufficient to account for what crusading could accomplish and what contemporaries thought they were doing when they invoked it; that is, the crusaders at the siege of Lisbon used their personal crusader status and their oath of association to create new possibilities for common political action that remained distinct from those of lordship, kingship, or nation.

The *De expugnatione* is, as we have seen, a text replete with associational terms, such as when the archbishop of Braga calls the encamped army a “coniurata multitudo” [a multitude in an oath-bound association] (118). It is possible that this emphasis on voluntary action, on the power of formal language and ritual to create a bond among different peoples to reshape the political landscape, can explain the text’s attitude toward the defeated Muslim occupants of Lisbon. Rather than relishing the destruction of the enemy, the author acknowledges a more mixed response of “sorrow and rejoicing” (183) and notes that divine correction for sin is something shared by Christians and Muslims alike. Phillips describes this ending section as employing “a sympathetic approach” that is “very rare in crusade writings of this period,” particularly in its hope that the Muslims might convert to Christianity and so, as the text states, “let their sorrow be turned into joy” (185).²³ By concluding the chronicle in this manner, the author emphasizes crusading’s function as a personal, devotional exercise – the victory at Lisbon becomes an opportunity for the crusaders to think more severely about their own sins – but also extends that link between the individual’s vow and the process of forming an “oath-bound association” to include

the idea of conversion. In other words, the “charter” and “covenant” that made the crusaders from different regions into a body of “Franks” through collective agreement remain fluid and open to admitting new members who, through a combination of formal language and ritual, could enter into a different body of faith (or “society”) by converting. Although not every crusading text connects the formation of collective political forms to conversion, this element of the *De expugnatione* anticipates issues raised in literary texts, as we will see in the *Richard*.

Overall, then, linguistic and regional difference was an expected part of crusading activity, not an impediment or a provisional measure destined to be replaced by nationalistic warfare. In addition to providing a potential precedent for later English crusaders or authors, the Lisbon campaign neatly illustrates two key elements of a crusading model of political action: first, the multilingual, multi-regional crusader forces, though not led by a single authority figure such as a king or duke, were nonetheless able to alter their plans and negotiate with a ruler independently; second, their decision-making process and the language used to describe it in the *De expugnatione*, such as the metaphor of an equitable body politic of “mutual service,” reveal that the crusaders themselves conceived of their actions as constituting an associational form. Though not attracting the same attention from chroniclers as the crusader forces led by kings and great lords, this expedition was part of a larger trend because this cooperation repeated itself during the Third Crusade when another mixed group of crusaders left from Dartmouth in 1189 and stopped in Iberia to serve under Sancho I; they again were organized “by common agreement” and their “leaders were probably bound together by oaths as *coniurati*.”²⁴ Thus, when turning to the sources for the campaign of Richard I of England during the Third Crusade, which is the subject of the romance *Richard Cœur de Lion*, we should understand comparable uses of associational language in those sources to be part of an ongoing, evolving tradition of English crusading thought that relied upon repeated narrative structures and symbols as well as legalistic vocabulary to organize temporary alignments.

THE THIRD CRUSADE IN CHRONICLE SOURCES: REFINING A VOCABULARY

Historically the campaigns of the Third Crusade (1189–92) illustrate the opposite of nationalistic discourse. In 1187 Saladin defeated the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem and then captured nearly all the major Latin holdings in the Holy Land, including Jerusalem, with the exception of Tyre,

Tripoli, and Antioch; forces from across Western Europe responded to this loss. Though often presented as a crusade dominated by Richard I of England and Philip II of France, the combatants included crusaders from Sicily, Germany, Italy, Flanders, Hungary, and Denmark, among other places. While the Third Crusade did not result in the recapture of Jerusalem, it did re-establish a coastal kingdom for the Latin Christians that would survive almost another hundred years. Furthermore, the Third Crusade not only showed the broad appeal of crusading in the twelfth century, but it also highlighted one of the principal strengths and weaknesses of the institution's associational politics – its ability to create temporary bonds among disparate levels of leaders. That is, the call to crusade created temporary peace between Henry II of England and Philip II of France, and after Henry's death between Richard and Philip; it also halted hostilities between the papacy and the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa, altogether allowing for a massive, concerted undertaking that developed its own ordinances and regulations.²⁵ However, these temporary bonds also failed to contain the factionalism and rivalry among Christian rulers, as witnessed in the rapid dissolution of the German forces after Barbarossa's sudden death, in the dispute between Conrad of Montferrat and Guy of Lusignan for the throne of the kingdom of Jerusalem, in Philip's attacks on Richard's lands in France, and in Richard's brother John's rebellion in England, in addition to the evident difficulties of managing the crusaders in the Holy Land.

The chronicle accounts of the Third Crusade, especially Ambroise's *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* [The history of the holy war] and Richard de Templo's *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi* [The itinerary of the pilgrims and the deeds of King Richard], show remarkable awareness of the challenges facing crusade leaders and provide insight into their negotiations. Ambroise's eyewitness history is an Anglo-Norman poetic account of Richard's exploits written between 1194 and 1199, probably by a Norman cleric for a noble audience.²⁶ It was also one of the main sources for Richard de Templo's Latin prose chronicle, compiled between 1217 and 1222 and likely intended for a clerical, learned audience.²⁷ While both sources clearly favor Richard I, they are generally well regarded for their historical value. More importantly, they also utilize terminology that sketches an operating vocabulary of crusading's associational forms as they were understood shortly after the Third Crusade. The terminology employed reveals not a theory of crusading's collective political forms but at the very least a coherent set of assumptions for their operation; noteworthy instances of this vocabulary in action include Philip's and

Richard's agreement at Vézelay before setting off for Messina and the East, the creation of a council at Bait Nuba to decide whether the army should attack Jerusalem or Egypt, and the comparison of the failures of the Third Crusade to Charlemagne and to the First Crusade.

During their meeting at Vézelay Richard and Philip formed an agreement to proceed together and in support of each other in the crusade undertaking. According to Ambroise, the two kings "Un sairement s'entrejurerent" (366) [swore an oath to one another (35)] that "they would be sure of each other and whatever they gained together they would share loyally" (35); they also promised to wait for one another at Messina. As Ambroise concludes, "Si faitement s'entr'alierent" (375) [This is how they made their alliance (35)]. In the *Itinerarium*, the meeting is described similarly, though with the legalism of more formal Latin; there the two kings strike a treaty or alliance of mutual security, a "foedus de mutua securitate" (150), and promise that they would share everything acquired by the law of war, "jure belli" (150).²⁸ In both versions, however, the authors stress that the army then proceeded in a spirit of unanimity without discord: Ambroise says, "Si eirot l'ost od tel amor / Que ja n'en oïssiez clamor" (381–2) [So the army moved forward in such harmony that you would not hear any disturbance from it (35)], and the *Itinerarium* relates, "Unanimi quoque tantus exercitus itinerans progressu, sine querela vel quacunque dissensione confecit dietas suas" (150) [The whole army was of one mind on the march. They completed their daily stages ... without any complaint or dispute (151)]. Taken together these terms – *alliement*, *sairement*, *foedus*, *unanimus* – indicate the terminology of an associational crusading practice. Much like the voluntary vow or oath that brought membership into the corporate body of a guild, or the "assent" (817), "othes" (810), and "foreward" (829) made by the pilgrims in Chaucer's *General Prologue* to *The Canterbury Tales* to bind together their "compaignye" (764), or the agreement binding together the crusaders in the Lisbon campaign during the Second Crusade, the oath sworn by Richard and Philip in Ambroise's version, which has been compared to the oaths sworn by companions-in-arms, is an action between the two rulers that is intended to bind their forces into a temporary unity with a common goal.²⁹

Whereas one expects to find terms such as "alliance" and "oath" when two medieval kings were planning to wage war together, the chronicles of the Third Crusade show how this associational language continued to apply even when there was nominally one leader in charge. At the end of June in 1192, after Philip had left the crusade to return to France, Richard and the army were camped at Bait Nuba. There the general lack of direction for

the crusade became apparent, and the question arose whether to besiege Jerusalem or attack another target. What is significant about this episode, which is reported nearly identically in Ambroise and in the *Itinerarium*, is the way it portrays the collective nature of the decision-making process. Instead of deciding on his own, or even with the advice of the other great nobles, Richard suggests that in order to avoid discord a council of twenty jurors should render a binding decision:

So on the king's encouragement everyone agreed that twenty honest jurors should decide on the course of action and all would give their unanimous consent to this without opposition. Therefore the following were chosen to make the decision: five Templars, five Hospitallers, five natives of the land of Syria and five French chiefs. These twenty assembled together and after discussing the aforesaid matters together for some time replied that without doubt the most advantageous course of action would be to go to besiege Babylonia [Egypt]. When the French heard this they resolutely opposed it, protesting that they would not move on anywhere except to besiege Jerusalem. (336–7)

The creation of this council was not only meant to take into account the advice of those who lived in the East, and therefore were better informed about its conditions, but also to create unanimity in the army by requiring everyone's oath to abide by its representative decision.³⁰ In this respect, the council at Bait Nuba functions similarly to Richard and Philip's oath at Vézelay, which also sought to avoid discord and dissension, by invoking this same vocabulary of consent, unanimity, and accord. However, in addition to echoing the general councils of the First Crusade and the Lisbon campaign, the council's composition of twenty unnamed jurors also illustrates the anti-hierarchical forms crusading could take; after all, as the chronicles report, the real beginning of this debate came from the nameless, nationless "La povre gent de l'ost" (10113) [poor people of the army (168)] or the "plebs et vulgus ignobile" (379) [ordinary common people (335)] who complained and quarreled over the lack of movement toward Jerusalem. In its initial arrangement, then, the conciliar process successfully united and equated the common people, the jurors, the nobles, and Richard; only when the French refuse to follow the council's decision, a violation of their oath, does a weakness in crusading's associational forms become apparent, as noted by the chroniclers. Nevertheless, the significant point here is that in order to explain their actions the crusaders turned to a broadly inclusive and unifying form rather than to an authoritarian one. This image of the representative council highlights the non-nationalistic elements of crusading as well as its imprecision or, viewed another way, its flexibility in adapting other cultural forms.

The crusading vocabulary employed by the chroniclers, which combines the legal and military lexicons of oaths, judgments, assent, unanimity (and its destroyer discord), alliance, and company into something new, provides a basis for assessing how the crusaders sought to perform collective action while deliberately remaining “loosely organized.”³¹ Of course, Ambroise and Richard de Templo are writing with the knowledge of the Third Crusade’s failure to recapture Jerusalem, which raised questions specific (i.e., “what went wrong?”) and general (i.e., “how should crusading work?”). Intriguingly, the chroniclers attempt to answer these questions by interrupting the historical narrative and turning to what we understand as literary accounts of crusading – *chansons de geste* about Charlemagne and about the First Crusade itself – in order to explain what crusading is and to critique the Third Crusade. Ambroise writes about the discord in the army:

When the valiant King Charlemagne, who conquered so many lands and countries, went to campaign in Spain ... when he led his army to Rome, when Agoland, through a great undertaking had arrived at Reggio ... when, in another war, Syria was lost and reconquered and Antioch besieged, in the great armies and battles against the Turks and the pagan hordes ... there was no bickering or quarrelling, at that time and before; then there was neither Norman nor French, Poitevin nor Breton, Mansel nor Burgundian, Flemish nor English; there was no malicious gossip nor insulting of one another; everyone came back with all honour and all were called Franks ... and when through sin they disagreed the princes brought them back into agreement with each other, and all were of one mind so that disagreement lasted little time. This is how things should be done and the affairs of today dealt with, that men may follow this example and not attack each other. (145–6)³²

Using an idealized past to discuss or reform the present is a familiar medieval technique, but Ambroise’s critique specifically stresses associative and collective forms against what we would call nationalistic ones, particularly in its subsuming of linguistic or regional identity under the category “Franks,” in the role of the multiple princes in resolving disagreement, and in the general state of being “of one mind” or unanimous.³³ Ambroise’s comparison of past crusades to the present also implicitly defines the holy warrior as belonging to a distinct category through a combination of personal behavior (i.e., “no bickering” and battling pagans) and group identification (i.e., “all were called Franks”). Furthermore, he notes that true crusaders should “not attack each other,” which is likely both a direct comment on the fighting within the forces of the Third Crusade and a general awareness of the violations of the ecclesiastical protections afforded to those who took the cross.

The *Itinerarium*'s version of this same passage, by comparison, repeats the appeal to literary representations of crusading and says that the Franks "una gens appellata propter unanimitatem" (332) [were called one people because they were of one mind (300)], thus expressing a similar point on the whole. However, it is worth noting that the two texts propose different solutions to discord in crusading forces. While Ambroise's critique looks for the present to replicate the success of the First Crusade's more equitable group leadership of several "princes," the *Itinerarium* states that "no army fighting under a *single general* was ever broken up by disagreement; those from different regions were never torn apart by contentious rivalry. Those acting under the *authority of one prince* were never divided by envy" (300, my italics). In other words, the *Itinerarium* finds the problem to be the lack of single leadership; in so doing, it departs from Ambroise's assessment by implying that "contentious rivalry" comes not from the troops of different regions but from their princes' shared authority.

The reason for comparing the two chroniclers' differing use of literary material and for working through their lexicon for describing crusading activity is that both of these models, which we might label the "conciliar" (i.e., multiple leaders or a general council) and the "authoritarian" (i.e., a single leader), existed alongside each other in crusade discourse and continued to be debated well into the fourteenth century in England and in continental Europe. However, even the authoritarian model of the *Itinerarium* does not indicate the development of a proto-nationalistic, as opposed to an associational, form; as the *Itinerarium* points out, it is the "comrades" (300) and those "from different regions" (300) who constitute a "people" (300) by their common purpose, not their geographic origin, thereby differentiating its representation of crusading from an "English" campaign. The use of literature by historical sources to raise and to attempt to resolve perceived problems in crusading practices in an imaginative or hypothetical space is something we should not dismiss, partly because it can improve our understanding of how in general crusading remained a viable, non-nationalistic form of action. In this sense, the Middle English poem *Richard* is a literary text that functions analogously to the *Estoire* and the *Itinerarium*'s appeal to the *chansons de geste*; the *Richard*'s imaginative revision of history continues the discussion of the nature and vocabulary of crusading and combines, not necessarily coherently, the conciliar and authoritarian models of associational action in a manner directed toward fourteenth-century concerns.

RICHARD CŒUR DE LION AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF
CRUSADING FELLOWSHIP

The Middle English romance *Richard Cœur de Lion*, besides contributing to the discussion of associational forms found in a number of crusade chronicles, is significant for English crusading literature for several other reasons: it was broadly accessible and relatively popular, having been composed in the vernacular and surviving in seven manuscripts and two printings; it is one of the few English texts frequently called a crusading romance by scholars and, of those romances, the earliest one extant, thereby serving something of a foundational role for the genre; and it opens by capaciously positioning its hero, Richard, among a catalogue of real and fictional warriors from various historical periods, including Achilles, Alexander, Charlemagne, Roland, Arthur, and Gawain (11–19), rather than solely among English monarchs or crusading figures.³⁴ In addition to this range of exemplary warriors, the *Richard* presents its narrative as falling somewhere in between the admittedly unstable medieval categories of “ieste” (5, 27, 32), a term evoking the literary *chansons de geste* but often used to mean a history, and that of a “romaunce” (7, 9) of “knyghtes” (8).³⁵ This mixed generic location recalls the incorporation of literary material into the chronicles of the Third Crusade, thus continuing the close relationship between history and literature in crusading thought; it also parallels the poem’s mixed textual status. The text of the *Richard* that comes down to us today is believed to be a composite one, expanded by later copyists; as such, a more concise, “historical” version was probably first composed sometime in the late thirteenth century and then expanded with typical “romance” episodes and motifs in the fourteenth century to become an approximately 7,000-line poem in rhyming couplets.³⁶ In terms of its linguistic status, the poem again resides in an ambiguous location. It is commonly accepted that the original author of the *Richard* was translating and adapting his work from an Anglo-Norman original; not only does he say as much in the beginning of the poem, where he declares that “In Frenssche bookys this rym is wrought” (21), but the high incidence of French rhymes in certain portions seems to indicate a French source, now lost.³⁷ Though the poem’s original date of composition is uncertain, all surviving manuscripts were written after the fall of Acre in 1291, and hence with the knowledge that later crusades had failed to preserve the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The aggregate version of the poem begins with Richard’s father, Henry II, marrying a mysterious daughter of the king of Antioch and producing

Richard, John, and a fictional daughter Topyas. After Henry's death and Richard's coronation, Richard holds a tournament and then sets off with two real but otherwise historically unremarkable Lincolnshire knights, Thomas Moulton and Fulk D'Oilly, as a pilgrim to the Holy Land. During the return journey, in a transposing of historical events, Richard is captured by the German king on the charge of spying. In captivity Richard accidentally kills the king's son, seduces his daughter, and tears out the heart of a lion with his hands before eating it, thereby earning his familiar epithet, "Coer de Lyoun" (1118). After Richard pays his ransom, he returns to England and announces the pope's call for a crusade. In this section, which more closely follows historical events and which is where the narrative begins in the earlier manuscripts, Richard meets with Philip II at Messina, skirmishes with the Greeks, quarrels with Philip, and conquers Cyprus on his way to Acre. After the infamous episode where he recovers from his illness outside Acre by unknowingly being fed a cooked Saracen prisoner in place of pork, Richard and the crusaders capture Acre, and then Richard, Philip, and the two knights separate and attack different cities. There are many incidental episodes where Richard and his men successfully exterminate or convert Saracens while Philip, portrayed as greedy, extorts money and promises of submission that the Saracens later renege. After the combined crusader forces successfully cooperate to win at Haifa and Arsuf and proceed to conquer Babylon (Cairo) in Egypt, Philip's historical departure after the siege of Acre is transformed into a quarrel between the two kings as to who would rule Jerusalem after its capture; Philip in his anger becomes sick and leaves. Richard's historical casting down of the banners of Leopold, duke of Austria, from Acre is transformed into Richard's casting down of the duke's banner when he refuses to help rebuild the walls of Ascalon; subsequently, Philip's and Leopold's departure is blamed for the failure of the crusade to capture Jerusalem. Finally, news of John's treachery in England and Philip's attack on Normandy eventually compels Richard to make peace with Saladin, and the poem ends with a description of his death from a crossbow bolt, supposedly while fighting the duke of Austria at Castle Gaylard.³⁸

The majority of critics writing about the poem have claimed that the *Richard* represents an English "protonationalism" or "discourse of medieval nationalism" through the troublesome figure of Richard, though they acknowledge that medieval nationalism differs in some respects from eighteenth-century versions.³⁹ Furthermore, in most of the scholarly interpretations favoring a nationalistic view, the crusading practices at the heart of the poem are seen to stand for something other than English interest in

crusading; the Hundred Years War in particular and Anglo-French antagonism in general are invoked to explain the poem's continued appeal in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁰ While the poem certainly does at times contrast "English" behavior to that of the "French" or "Saracens," this chapter takes a different approach by treating the *Richard's* popular crusading narrative as a story primarily about crusading. More specifically, I argue that the text fits the new criteria for the genre of the English crusading romance proposed in the Introduction; this genre responds to and engages with developments in crusading practices, particularly those arising in the early fourteenth century, that remained pertinent to fifteenth-century politics. Though episodic in nature, the *Richard* possesses an underlying, unifying logic that derives from its engagement with crusading.⁴¹ In addition to being driven by the heroic retelling of Richard's birth, life, and death as the "werryour beste" (31) and a "conqueroure" (250), the poem portrays the king as an exemplary crusader who was devoted to the cause of the Holy Land throughout his life.

More significantly, though, as part of its literary argument the *Richard* draws upon and extends the crusade chronicles' associational vocabulary in order to show the ideal crusader army as, in the poem's term, a "felawrede" (3161) [fellowship] of Christian powers; this fellowship model illustrates what I call the "anti-national" aspects of crusading and informs the poem's key scenes of negotiation where various associational forms are imagined, created, dissolved, or refused. At the same time, the *Richard* locates its discussion of associational crusading practices within fourteenth-century concerns, which included a new focus on the question of leadership and how to maintain unity. In contradistinction to the solutions proposed in other fourteenth-century crusade discourse, the poem mixes the conciliar and authoritarian approaches of the chronicles by presenting Christian rulers as acting in a cooperative partnership while also being subordinate – however briefly – to a single military leader. Additionally, while tracing the creation and dissolution of this collective practice through different scenes of negotiations, the *Richard* examines two related issues rarely addressed, if at all, in contemporary crusade discourse: the failure of other Christians to honor pilgrims' and crusaders' protections from attack, and the failure of crusaders to convert or exterminate conquered Saracens.⁴²

By describing the poem's associational language and forms as "anti-national," my approach accords with the recent work of scholars such as Derek Pearsall and Ardis Butterfield, who find that evidence of Anglo-French hostility does not necessarily prove the existence of a medieval English nation. As Pearsall puts it, despite a "momentary surge in

assertions of Englishness around 1290–1340 and again in 1410–20, there was no steadily growing sense of national feeling”; the authors in these periods who seem to be promoting the English language “are evidence only of fragmentary, sporadic, regional responses to particular circumstances, not of a wave of English nationalism sweeping the country.”⁴³ By comparison, Butterfield, commenting on the beginnings of the Hundred Years War, concludes that, “Whatever Edward III had achieved, it was not a continuing feeling of nationalism ... It may be hard for us to grasp, but kingship does not appear to have been synonymous with nationhood for either Edward III or Jean II [of France].”⁴⁴ Moreover, when discussing later developments of the Hundred Years War, she adds that “fifteenth-century English control over France was very much a reversion to former patterns of possession, and indeed it could be argued that all English attempts to claim French land up to the fifteenth century were ways of reclaiming history rather than moving on towards the goal of national self-definition.”⁴⁵ These cautions against assuming a teleological, evolutionary drive towards nationhood in medieval England are supported by the general conclusions of some political theorists. For example, Hendrik Spruyt, in his study of the late medieval origins of the sovereign nation-state in Western Europe, argues that, “The decline of the feudal system, however, did not straightforwardly lead to a system of states but gave rise to multiple institutional arrangements [e.g., city-states, city-leagues, empires], any of which – at that time – appeared to be viable,” and hence, “There is ... nothing inevitable about the emergence of the sovereign, territorial state.”⁴⁶ Thus, rather than turning primarily to the Hundred Years War to explain the *Richard’s* continued popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we might recall that dramatic events such as the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 attracted widespread attention in England through concerted crusade preaching campaigns. As Jonathan Harris demonstrates, English bishops publicized the 1455 jubilee indulgence, the proposed crusade, and individual indulgences to aid captives and refugees throughout their dioceses; the last in particular connected “the sufferings of [individuals captured by the Turks] ... to the wider question of the threat posed to Christendom as a whole” in a way that “provided a vivid and immediate link with those distant events.”⁴⁷ Viewed in this manner, the *Richard’s* continued relevance in later centuries becomes apparent in its role as a crusading narrative; moreover, the poem’s occasional anti-French outbursts – which, significantly, are balanced by some central scenes of successful Anglo-French cooperation – more likely derive either from the chronicles or from the same impulse that prompted the chronicles’ criticism of the

French, namely the need to explain the campaign's ending in failure to recapture Jerusalem by shifting the blame.⁴⁸

The *Richard* qualifies as a redefined crusading romance and is best understood as one because it contains many of that genre's key features: the poem describes a military campaign against non-Christians announced by the pope that allows participants "paradys to wynne" (1326); it depicts a crusade preaching campaign throughout England that results in Richard and his army becoming signed with the cross; Richard undertakes an invented personal pilgrimage to the Holy Land in preparation for launching his campaign; and, in another departure from the chronicles, several of the poem's episodes link the subject of conversion to penitential activities. Most importantly, the campaign in the *Richard* is explicitly intended to recover the lost kingdom of Jerusalem in the Holy Land and to "wreke" (1328) [avenge] Jesus, thereby invoking crusade discourse's recurring narrative pattern of loss and recovery. All of these features contribute to the poem's "anti-national" interests because apart from a single reference to Henry II's trouble with Thomas Becket, it contains no account of England's history, although the poem's claim that there are many who want to hear of "doughty knyghtes off Yngelonde" (28) and its addition of Richard to the list of celebrated heroes indicate pride in English achievement. Significantly, however, the *Richard* does describe the recent history of the Holy Land as a way of linking its argument about Christian fellowship to the crusading pattern of loss and recovery.

Before Richard formally asks his people to join him on the campaign, the poem reports its version of the reason for the Third Crusade directly to its audience; this cause is framed as a change in the lawful possession of lands and of holy objects that begins with Christian possession:

Beffor that tyme a gret cuntre
That was beyonde the Grykyssche see,
Acres, Surry, and ffele landes,
Were in Crystene-mennes handes;
And the croys that Cryst was on ded
...
And the toun off Ierusalem.

(1269–76)

Until they are lost through the treachery of certain Christians and the assaults of Saladin, the relic of the true cross, Jerusalem, Acre, and Syria generally are presented as belonging to Christians. Additionally, this ownership allows pilgrims to visit without any "raunsoun" or "rent" (1282) and without

any “euele hondes” (1286) troubling them. Although the *Richard*’s narrative of Christian ownership of the Holy Land does not extend as far back in time as some other contemporary crusading texts that trace the land’s history back to the time of the Israelites, the poem’s deictic marker “Beffor that tyme” can simply indicate a time prior to Richard’s campaign, but, in the absence of any earlier account, it can also suggest a time immemorial of Christian possession.⁴⁹ The loss of this initial control over lands, relics, and safe access to holy sites is what motivates the subsequent campaign; indeed, in order to emphasize this common pattern of crusade discourse, the *Richard* revises history so that the king of Jerusalem before the Third Crusade, Guy of Lusignan, whom the poem transforms into a figure called “Duke Myloun” (1287), is also literally lost, just as “Surry was lorn and the holy croys” (1312).⁵⁰ The echo of things lost resonates throughout the account, so that when the poem concludes, “this los and this pite, / Sprong out thorwgh al Crystyante” (1321–2), one is not sure to what “this los” refers; it likely encompasses all of them. By then cataloguing the various Christian rulers who set off in response to recover the Holy Land, including the king of France, the German emperor, the dukes of Austria and Burgundy, and the earl of Flanders (1329–36), and by having Richard reiterate a condensed version of the same story to his assembled people at Westminster where he repeats “Ierusalem and the croys is lorn” (1359) and urges them to behave as “othere Crystene kynges haue don” (1382), the poem directly links this crusading pattern of loss and recovery to “anti-national,” collective political action. Ultimately this general structural pattern, which is supported by intermediary episodes of the crusader forces recovering several individual cities in Syria, reaches its high point near the middle of the poem when the collective Christian forces win at Arsuf and fictitiously conquer Babylon, a goal also urged by most of the contemporary recovery treatises; after that success, the associations in the crusader army break down, and the poem finds some closure in the partial recovery of the Holy Land at the end via Richard’s historical truce with Saladin. The *Richard* celebrates this truce as a victory, albeit a limited one undercut by Christian failings, because it re-establishes pilgrims’ rights of access so that “afftyrward alle the thre yere / Crystene-men bothe fer and nere / Yeden the way to Ierusalem” (7195–7) and to other holy sites without harm. Since it was likely composed after the loss of Acre, the last mainland Christian holding in Syria, in 1291, the poem’s retrospective look at the Third Crusade may also invite its audience to consider this narrative of loss and recovery as a continuing one; in other words, just as the poem tells of a Christian recovery of Acre and other areas in the Holy Land that were previously lost, so too the audiences of the *Richard*,

living in a time when those reclamations had in turn been lost, could expect this pattern to continue with new attempts to reconquer the Holy Land.

While the *Richard's* subject matter and overall narrative progression qualify it as a crusading romance engaged with ongoing debates in crusade discourse, the poem's specific contribution lies in its emphasis on scenes of negotiation that rely upon the same kind of associational vocabulary found in Ambroise's and Richard de Templo's chronicles. Repeatedly the *Richard* highlights the diversity of the crusading forces and their opponents and employs a lexicon of treaties, agreements, and oaths for negotiating that multifarious world. Not only is this semi-fictional world populated with French, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Syrian Christians, and Muslims, all of whom are at one point hostile to Richard's forces, but there is also a strong sense that, despite Richard's depiction as a supreme warrior, he cannot win Jerusalem without making agreements or alliances with these groups. A major thematic element, then, is the making and breaking of these agreements between different Catholic powers, between Catholic and Orthodox powers, and between Catholic and Muslim powers; indeed, some of the most vituperative language is reserved for the Christians who break their agreements with one another. Viewed in terms of its larger narrative structure, the poem proceeds from an initial state of Christian discord in Richard's conflicts with the German, Sicilian, French, and Cypriot rulers, to a state of relative unity and success under Richard's authoritative leadership when Richard, Philip, and other "kyn-ges off Crystyante" (2689) take Acre, win at Arsuf, and defeat Saladin at Babylon in its middle section, and then back to a state of discord when the agreements among Philip, the dukes of Austria and Burgundy, John, and Richard fail at its end. Hence, Richard's constant devotion to crusading and to his agreements, not just his superhuman military prowess, is his greatest virtue and the poem's primary point.

Without a doubt, the notion that Christians should honor their agreements with one another and act cohesively, especially in crusading endeavors, was not new; as we have seen, it was noted in the chronicles of the Third Crusade with their blaming of contemporary crusaders in comparison to the behavior of Charlemagne and those on the First Crusade.⁵¹ However, this idea became more prominent after the complete loss of the Holy Land, since it was apparent that cooperation had failed; in this period, changes in crusade discourse can be detected in, among other things, the production of a new group of crusading texts known as "recovery treatises." These late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century treatises were advisory proposals produced by "a diverse group of men,

from monarchs, nobles and prelates to friars and doctors” that attempted to outline a plan for the recovery of the Holy Land.⁵² The recovery treatises appear to have grown out of propaganda, memoirs, and chronicles of the crusades and of the kingdoms in the East, but also developed out of papal calls for advice on the plight of the Holy Land, authored by, for example, Gregory X in 1272 and Nicholas IV in 1291.⁵³ On the whole, they dealt more extensively with how to make crusaders and Christendom work together effectively. Some of these treatises, echoing the view of the *Itinerarium*, asserted that one leader with sufficient authority was necessary to conduct a campaign successfully; three authors, Fidenzio of Padua, Ramon Lull, and Marino Sanudo, for example, all attempted to solve the problem of Christian disunity during a crusading campaign by calling for a single leader of the army with definitive control, though they differed on how this leadership could be realized.⁵⁴ Lull, the Majorcan mystic, calls this leader a “bellator rex” [warrior king], while Fidenzio, a Franciscan friar, calls him a “capite presidente” [head ruler] or “capitaneus” [captain], and Sanudo, a Venetian merchant, also calls him a “Capitaneus” [captain], though the treatises differ as to whether this leader should be a king, an aristocrat, or the elected head of the military orders.⁵⁵ By contrast, Pierre Dubois, a French lawyer, advocated a “league of universal peace” governed by the “unanimous decision” of a council of clerics and princes with the result that all Christians “will form in effect a single commonwealth so strongly united that it cannot be divided,” while violators of this unity would be “stripped of their possessions” and “sent to populate the Holy Land.”⁵⁶ Regardless of the approach, however, these treatises’ goal of unified action was the same. As scholars have discussed, this focus on cooperative behavior in crusade discourse was part of a larger set of challenges affecting crusading practices in the fourteenth century, such as shifting economic and military conditions that favored smaller, professional armies over a large force of *crucesignati*, the rising cost of warfare, the use of the crusade indulgence as a financing rather than as a recruiting tool, and the requirement of peace in Europe in order to convince powerful rulers to participate.⁵⁷ Apart from Dubois’s imaginative pan-European council, though, both the recovery treatises and the chronicles pay little attention to how lasting crusading agreements might be put in place or to how a suitable leader might achieve the necessary authority to maintain unity.⁵⁸ It is in this respect that the *Richard* offers distinct evidence for our study of fourteenth-century crusading thought, for the poem’s close rendering of negotiations that create or dissolve fellowship, as well as its attempt to reconcile that partnership with the authority of a single leader,

articulates some of that “anti-national” form’s perceived possibilities and limitations.⁵⁹

For such a large, unwieldy poem produced, as scholars argue, by accretions over time, the *Richard* possesses a strikingly compact lexicon of associational forms. These terms in order of highest frequency are: “frend” [friend, ally, confederate]; “foreward” [agreement, contract, pledge]; “treus” [truce, peace, treaty]; “covenant” [agreement, pact, pledge]; “accord” [agreement, unanimity, formal covenant]; “sworn brothir” / “trewe sworn” / “oth” [make an oath or pledge of brotherhood or allegiance]; “compaignie” [a group with a common purpose, fellowship, companionship]; and “felawrede” [fellowship, company of pilgrims, organized society, fraternity].⁶⁰ While it is plausible that this consistency derives from the lost source material, the *Richard*’s use of terms derived from Old French, such as “covenant” and “accord,” and from Anglo-Saxon, especially “foreward” and “treus,” to describe various agreements and treaties seems to indicate that this vocabulary remained significant to the poem’s English author and redactors. These terms constitute the primary political lexicon of the poem, and their mixed linguistic heritage is in keeping with the mixed nature of the “Crystene cumpanye” (3032) and the “Crystene felawrede” (3161) that is on crusade. Moreover, with the exception of “compaignie” and “felawrede,” which, perhaps significantly, only appear in the middle section of the poem when the crusaders first act cohesively for the common goal of recapturing Acre, the terms are virtually interchangeable – for instance, there seems to be no underlying distinction between the use of “covenant” and “foreward.” This transposability indicates that the poem is less interested in developing a single term that explains crusading activity than in employing a cluster of related terms to mark the rough boundaries of a central concept of collective, voluntary, and theoretically equitable action. Thus, while the *Richard* shares the concern of the chronicle sources and of some recovery treatises regarding crusading unity, the poem’s recurring use of these terms enables it to ask what makes a crusading agreement distinct and, by extension, how it can be regulated or maintained.

The flexibility and usefulness of these terms in highlighting the power of the voluntary promise to create community and shared understanding – at least temporarily – is seen when the poem employs them across different political and religious situations. Near the beginning, when the *Richard* describes the launching of the campaign in England, this vocabulary serves to distinguish crusading’s model of collective action from the hierarchical, obeisant model of kingship or lordship. After Richard returns from his

captivity in Germany, he gives his “somoun” (1263) and “heste” (1268) that all come to “parlement” (1259) in London on pain of death – a parallel to his earlier summoning of the tournament at Salisbury on “forfeyture, on lyfe and londe” (257). At the parliament, however, Richard does not continue to assert his leadership via the vocabulary of lordship by giving commands and threatening punishment to his subordinates. Instead, Richard first tells the assembled people of the plight of the Holy Land, noting that the pope has requested each king to go fight for Jerusalem, then reveals that he personally intends to go, and finally asks, “Now, ffrendes, what is youre purpos? / Wole ye wende? Says ye or nay!” (1374–5). Rather than launching the English portion of the crusade with a command, the poem emphasizes the more equitable, voluntary association that constitutes its version of crusading by offering a choice to “ffrendes,” a term that Richard uses four times in less than sixty lines. The gathered people then reply using this associational lexicon, saying that they are “at on acord” (1377) [are agreed or unanimous] to follow Richard to the Holy Land, after which he again calls them “Frendes” (1379) and “rede[s]” (1384) [advises] that they should “maken a playn croyserye” (1386), the poem’s only use of the relatively rare Middle English term for summoning and conducting a crusade.⁶¹ It is true that the poem never questions Richard’s power as king – the gathered people still address him as “oure lord” (1378), he issues commands to maintain the kingdom while he is away, and his orders are all obeyed by the crusaders under his control – but the presentation of Richard here better matches the idea of the authoritative crusading leader expressed by the chronicles and the recovery treatises than the idea of a protonationalistic English king. That is, the poem does not view this constitutive moment of the crusade as belonging to the more hierarchical discourse of lordship, and it signals that distinction through lexical shifts. Just as the *De expugnatione* deliberately contrasted the vocabularies of lordship and association when those historical crusaders resolved their discord and formed an agreement with Alfonso I as Franks, creating a new category over their several regional identities, the *Richard* too makes an instance of broad, collective, and unanimous agreement the foundation of something new, namely a “croyserye” that must be “maken” and that will open up different possibilities for political action, including the possibility of expansion through becoming “frendes” (1614, 1750) with Modard of Germany or Tancred of Apulia, or through becoming “sworn brothir” (1674) with Philip II of France.

This associational lexicon, with its implications of equitable partnership and voluntary agreement, continues to apply when the poem portrays relations among Christians of differing regions and languages. In

these instances the terminology indicates potential or actual alliances for religious advancement, such as when Richard and the Orthodox Greek emperor of Cyprus cease fighting and are “at one accorde” (2389), or when Richard reprimands Philip for supporting the Greek attack on his troops at Messina by reminding him, “We haue to Jherusalem the waye sworne, / Who breketh our pylgrymage, he is forlorne” (1995–6). In the latter example, the very fact of Richard’s reminding Philip of their oath functions as a reconstituting moment that repeats the earlier action of their swearing to “wreke Jhesu” (1676) and to “wenden into the Holy Londe” (1675) but also extends its scope to forbid anyone making any “medlaye” (1997) between them through “tresoure” (1985), “dyshonoure” (1990), or “lesynge” (1994). In both cases, the association reached is a temporary one with the semblance of equality among Christian forces – the Greek emperor, for instance, eats “at one borde” (2390) and shares “moche playe” (2391) with Richard even though Richard has just defeated him and exacted homage, whereas Richard tells Philip to wage war “as j the[e] teche” (3816) and to follow his “counseyl” (4802), not his commands. These associations, however, later dissolve because of treason and lack of faithfulness. In these examples and others like them, the poem is very much in keeping with Ambroise’s critique of the Third Crusade, as it is the present Christian bickering that overshadows the cooperation of the past. Richard’s aims are depicted as universally directed toward unifying Christians against their Muslim enemies in a common purpose, but the Greek emperor later succumbs to his “wyll malycious” (2419), while Philip at various times thinks to do “tresoun” (1677) and “destaunce” (1678) to Richard, begins “to glose” (3834) him, and finally speaks a “wurd off pryde” (5896) about his solely owning Jerusalem that breaks their agreement. The problem with crusading’s associational forms, it seems, is not in the nature of the bonds, but in the nature of those making them. The poem implies that collective agreements are not only possible but effective and desirable for reconquering the Holy Land, yet these agreements rely on the individuals involved overcoming personal failings such as maliciousness or pride. Additionally, by keeping Philip in the story long after his historical departure and yet presenting Richard as the source of the major campaign decisions, the poem attempts to blend the conciliar model expressed in Ambroise’s description of the First Crusade, where it is the princes’ responsibility to restore concord, with the authoritative model of the *Itinerarium* and a few of the recovery treatises, where a single leader could ensure effective military action. Though it is uncertain to what extent the text envisions the deferring of one king

to another while maintaining brotherhood and partnered negotiations as a feasible crusading practice, the English audience of the *Richard* is invited to imagine crusading as an interregional enterprise that creates different political forms – ones not necessarily subject to pre-existing hierarchies or relationships – and that can alter them along the way. Moreover, lest we dismiss the poem's argument because of its hyperbolic descriptions of Richard's abilities as belonging only to the literary world of romance and of the *chansons de geste*, we should recall that the recovery treatises intended to help launch actual crusading campaigns employed the same kind of idealizing language to describe the new crusade leader's qualities.⁶²

The *Richard*'s vocabulary of unanimity and emphasis on maintaining established agreements, as in the chronicle sources, creates an implicit standard that places cooperative crusading action above concern for personal honor and grievances, yet does so without eliminating or overwriting different regional identities. In fact, the poem highlights the diversity of the crusading forces as a point of pride and as a way of showing these agreements in action. Just as Saladin's forces are not an indistinguishable Saracen horde, but are "Off Inde, off Perse, off Babyloyne ... Off Aufryk ... Off Grete Grece, and off Tyre" (4969–73) as well as "off many another empyre" (4974), so too the crusader army gathered at the battle of Arsuf is not just a generic "Crystene hoost" (3059), but contains multiple regional and linguistic identities:

ther were off Yngeland
Wyse knyghtes doughty off hand;
Manye Ffrensche ffolk, and Templers,
Gascoynes, and Hospytales,
Off Provynce a fayr cumpanye,
Off Poyle, and off Lumbardye,
Off Gene, off Sesyle, and off Tuskan;
There was many a doughty man
Off Ostrych and off Alemayn

...
Off Crystene knyghtes that were hende,
The ffayreste hoost to the worldes ende.

(4979–90)

Several literary scholars have argued that the poem presents an "English national identity" through an "aggressively English king," as evinced in the use of such phrases as "our Englysshe knyghtes" (1772), but here the poem's ideal army contains soldiers from England, France, Germany, Italy,

and the military orders; it also specifically includes Gascons, indicating Richard's Angevin identity.⁶³ The poem's interest in showing the valor of the English and of Richard does not, therefore, necessarily conflict with its placing of those concerns in the context of crusading's associational forms; since it is many different peoples working together that constitute the "ffayreste hoost," the English – with the notable exception of Richard's brother John and his followers, who are made partly responsible for the failure of the crusade – merely represent ones who are more committed to maintaining that ideal than others.⁶⁴ Additionally, this emphasis on and idealization of collective unity cannot be explained adequately by appealing to a model of crusading deriving from papal authority. While the pope had been credited with asking each "Crystene kyng" (1367) to "ffelle the Sarezynys bost" (1370) near the beginning of the poem, the Christian forces are not a papal army, as there is no mention of the pope again, but are an example of associational action created by temporary agreements. If anything, this brief mention of the papacy only emphasizes the personal, penitential aspect of crusading practices, since the text reports that the pope "Sente to eche a Crystene man, / And asoylyd hem off here synne ... To wreke Ihesu off hys ffoon" (1324–8). This broad appeal to individual Christians again locates the crusade within a theoretically equitable framework of participation. It also allows the poem to celebrate the achievements of the English as exemplary Christians in this endeavor because they continued to support their confederates to achieve a particular goal.

The making and breaking of agreements among Christians occupies a major position in the poem's representation of the problems of the Third Crusade and of crusading generally. However, the *Richard* extends the range of its analysis when it applies this same lexicon of association to agreements made between Christians and Muslims. In the text's revision of history, the Holy Land was initially lost to Saladin not because of the very poor tactical decisions that resulted in the battle of Hattin, but because "Eerl Roys" (1298) – probably Raymond III, count of Tripoli – and "Markes Fferaunt" (1307) – that is, Conrad, marquis of Montferrat – formed a "comenaunt" (1308) with Saladin. In exchange for money and land, they did "treason" (1297) and betrayed the "Crystene hoost" (1303) to the extent that the marquis even "Crystyndome forsook" (1310). Here Richard's historical political enemy, Conrad, an Italian nobleman who was not even in Syria until after Hattin and who briefly became king of Jerusalem, is made responsible for the loss of the kingdom because he allied himself with Saladin. As a way of emphasizing the enormity of the fictional Conrad's betrayal, the poem later has the archbishop of Pisa reiterate to Richard when he arrives at Acre that the

"Markes Manferaunt" (2713), who "was a Crystene kyng sum whyle" (2715), now "leues on Mahoun" (2714) and was with Saladin when he assaulted the Christian camp; indeed, according to the archbishop, Conrad does "more schame and gyle / Thenne the Sawdon, and al hys hoost" (2716–17) to the Christians. This demonizing of the historical Conrad must be considered more than a simple piece of literary propaganda to defend the historical Richard's actions, particularly since, as discussed above, Richard's rival candidate for the kingship of Jerusalem, Guy of Lusignan, becomes the "Duke Myloun" and quickly disappears from the narrative, and since Conrad never physically appears in it to be defeated by the crusaders. Instead, Conrad's "comenaunt" (1308) with Saladin serves two main purposes: on a simple level, it glorifies the Christian crusaders by implying that they could not actually lose to the Saracens unless there was some treachery involved; on another level, though, Conrad's agreement becomes a way for the poem to address fears of Christian conversion as well as a way to examine the construction of associational forms through a negative example.

Conrad's last mention in the poem, which occurs during negotiations about the surrender of Acre to Richard and Philip, encapsulates several concerns rising from its associational lexicon and examines them in relation to the nature of the crusading enterprise. This episode, which has been overlooked by previous scholars, begins when Saladin, after calling "trewes and parlement" (3231), offers peace, the city of Jerusalem, and the land up to the River Jordan in exchange for yearly tribute; if this first offer is not appealing, he provides a second option of "pes ffor eueremoo" (3246) (and presumably all the land in the first offer) in exchange for the two kings' making Conrad king of Jerusalem. Both kings simply ignore the first offer, and Richard immediately rejects the second offer to put a "traytour" (3254) on the throne because Conrad has not only personally insulted Richard by stealing his father's treasure, but he has also "renayyd his lay, / And is becomen a Sarezyn ... He is *wurs* than an hound!" (3260–3, my italics). Despite Philip's expressed support for Conrad, Richard will not "with hym acord" (3286) until Conrad returns his treasure and restores Jerusalem. Though ultimately Saladin and the two kings form a different "foreward" (3326) that involves only the surrender of Acre and the return of the holy cross, this lexicon of covenants, accord, and agreements aligns Richard, Philip, Conrad, and Saladin in a way that highlights the imprecision of the associational practices that constructed the crusader army in the first place. That is, Conrad's initial covenant with Saladin and the imagined restoration of the kingdom of Jerusalem under Conrad via an agreement between Saladin and the sworn brothers, Richard and Philip,

raise uncomfortable questions about the legitimacy of crusading associations because they use the same vocabulary, thereby threatening to undermine a clear opposition between “infidel” and “Christian.” In addition, the offer’s potential restoration of the Latin kingdom through negotiation rather than combat seems to challenge the wisdom of Richard’s refusal, particularly in light of Richard’s failure to recapture Jerusalem by the end of the poem.

Indeed, this episode of negotiation about Conrad and Jerusalem is a critical point in the poem’s logic of differentiating between “good” and “bad” agreements or between “us” and “them”; it is also one place where the poem offers different evidence than that of the recovery treatises or other fourteenth-century sources. The *Richard* has no narrational imperative to present these negotiations in such an extended fashion or to make Conrad their focus. More confusingly, even though the archbishop of Pisa had revealed previously that Conrad was fighting with Saladin against the crusaders, Richard first identifies Conrad’s two main faults – his becoming a Saracen and his stealing of the treasure – and then orders him to “goo out off *this* hoost” (3269, my italics) because if he finds “that traytour *among vs*” (3272, my italics), Richard will kill him. Leaving aside the problem of consistency in an aggregate work such as the *Richard*, Conrad’s troubled and variable position (i.e., is he a Saracen? Is that status temporary or permanent? Is he in Saladin’s army or the crusaders’ forces?) not only captures some of fluidity of historical crusading politics but also opens up a space in between the categories of crusader and Saracen. Perhaps the most interesting detail in this exchange is that Richard could “accord” with Conrad if his treasure is restored and if the implicit objective of the crusade, the return of Jerusalem, is achieved. Here the possibility of Richard’s forgiveness of Conrad for the latter’s betrayal of Christendom, of Richard’s family, and of his personal faith is made parallel to the recovery of Jerusalem in a way that draws upon the loss-and-recovery narrative structure of crusade discourse, since Conrad could be “recovered” for Christendom and “amende” (3282) his faults. Unlike the recovery treatises, which at times denounced the Saracens for their perfidy or prescribed the cleansing of heretics from the Holy Land, but did so only in very general terms, the *Richard* considers the possibility of a lasting agreement with the Saracens through a reconciliation with a renegade Christian who would, it seems, become part of the crusading association.⁶⁵ In this respect, the exchange about Conrad indirectly reflects upon the main agreement between Richard and Philip that is holding the crusading forces together; despite their having taken the

cross, it is their sworn brotherhood and oath, not the mere fact of being crusaders, which sustains the association and the collective action of the assorted French, Germans, English, Italians, and military orders in the crusader army. This episode about Conrad thus shows a potential flaw in crusading's associational forms, for the same mechanisms of "covenant" or "foreward" that constitute crusading's alliances and fellowships can seemingly be employed with anyone for personal gain. Nonetheless, the poem attempts to distinguish these kinds of agreements by personal intention and result. For instance, the poem's critique of Philip's "comenaunt" (3894) with some Saracens, which spares them for money and allows them to keep their fortified cities and goods, is described by Richard as doing "God a gret ffalshede" (4694) and as doing a "dysseyte" (4792) to the other crusaders because it violates their collective goal of Christians' possessing the Holy Land; by comparison, Richard's possible accord with Conrad or his forgiveness of Philip's mistakes shows that one can return to a previously broken fellowship of religious faith or of military cooperation through personal correction and rededication to a shared purpose, thus suggesting that participants' intention – the advancement of Christendom or the pursuit of individual gain – differentiates them.

While the *Richard* ultimately does not pursue the full implications of the exchange about Conrad for crusading practices in general, since Conrad simply disappears from the poem after this point, the poem's use of associational terms to describe agreements formed between religious enemies or between estranged Christians has a deliberate complement in the later example of a nameless Christian "renay" (4098) [renegade], who unlike Conrad returns to his original faith and aids the cause of the crusade. When one of Richard's knights is out campaigning, the Saracens send "a spye / That hadde ben Crystene in hys youthe" (4076–7); he tells crusaders that he is a "Crystene-man" (4081) who will help them conquer the city they are besieging. The "renay," however, is caught in his lie, and reveals the Saracens' trap. He and the crusaders devise a "comenaunte" (4142) that he will go back into the city as a double agent and convince them to surrender, which he does, but then he returns to the Christians and makes a second "comenaunt" (4226) that he will go barefoot and "[w]ollewarde" (4221) [wearing woolen clothing as an act of penance] through snow and sleet to "amende of [his] synne" (4223) and enter heaven – in effect, resuming his Christian faith through an associational, crusading agreement that is then carried out via penance. In addition to addressing and easing fourteenth-century European fears about converted Christians working against their former religion in the Holy Land by

providing a counterexample, the episode of the renegade calls upon the associational lexicon in order to stress the material and spiritual redemption available by forming and keeping agreements with Christians; that is, the two “comenaunts” restore the city to Christian control and restore the original spiritual state of the renegade. By demonstrating the efficacy of these agreements with the Christians in juxtaposition to the repeated, failed “tresoun” (4154, 4232) of the Saracens, who first “betraye” (4105) the Christians with lies and with a trapped bridge and then with a surprise attack after having surrendered, the poem uses the faithful intent, not simply the religious faith, of the parties involved to distinguish the nature of the agreements made. In other words, this episode does not show that all agreements with Saracens are wrong; the former Christian-turned-Saracen keeps his agreements with the crusaders and illustrates that such agreements between religious enemies are possible and sometimes beneficial.

In a sense, the renegade episode portrays a process by which the fictional Conrad from the earlier negotiations could have returned to Christendom, and it does so by drawing on the same general crusading narrative of loss and recovery – of land and of faith – in its individual and collective aspects. For just as Philip had promised that Conrad would “amende” (3282) any misdeed, this renegade must earn his re-entry into the ranks of Christendom through a combination of personal, penitential action – he “schrooff hym clene” (4225) to a priest – and through assistance to the collective, as when he warns the crusaders of the Saracens’ second “tresoun” (4232) and allows the town to be “stabled” (4299) [settled] with “Crystene-men” (4296). By offering an instance where the combination of associational agreement and conversion support and restore Christendom, rather than detract from it, the *Richard* certainly engages in some literary fantasy, as there is little historical evidence that such conversions occurred with any frequency.⁶⁶ Still, the poem’s raising of this issue in a hypothetical space goes further than the *De expugnatione*’s concluding hope that the defeated, suffering Muslims of Lisbon will convert and further than the appeal to past interregional cooperation in the chronicles of the Third Crusade, as it extends the possibility of religious enemies becoming participants in crusading’s associational action. Of course, this possibility is restricted, as is shown when the poem depicts the Saracens urging Saladin to love Richard as his “brothir” (3693) and to “be frendes” (3697) with him. Saladin’s subsequent offer of vast lands and power to Richard is refused outright because it requires Richard to convert to Islam, who instead piously comments on his own salvation and on recovering the relic of the true cross. Taken as a whole, the *Richard*’s view of

agreement and conversion is generally consistent with fourteenth-century crusade discourse, which examined a range of strategies for regaining the lost kingdom of Jerusalem, including alliance and friendship with the Muslim Mongols against Mamluk Egypt or the (perhaps violent) conversion of the Orthodox Byzantine empire to gain another ally, but the poem's linking of associational bonds, penance, and conversion condenses several abstract elements of crusading thought into emblematic images of political and religious exchange; these images stretch the logic of crusading's associational forms by being somewhat open to religious opponents, and they concentrate on the voluntary commitments and religious duties of individuals.⁶⁷

Altogether the *Richard* employs a coherent associational lexicon to refer to agreements differing in scale but not in substance, utilizing terms such as "foreward" or "accord" that all to some extent designate a formal pact but also connote a sense of unanimity. These agreements range from the bond and shared purpose holding the crusader army together as a fellowship, the oath of brotherhood between the two crusading kings, the personal agreement of Richard and his two knights to be sworn brothers on pilgrimage, to the nameless renegade's return to Christianity via a "covenant" with one of Richard's knights. While far from expressing a theory of crusading's associational forms, the *Richard* participates in an evolving tradition of crusading texts stretching back at least to the First Crusade that was intrigued by crusading practices' fluid and occasionally radical political potential. Just as Ambroise and Richard de Templo creatively used the past to comment on the Third Crusade in their chronicles, so too the poem highlights and frequently rewrites the formation of temporary agreements during the Third Crusade in order to explore crusading's potentialities in the fourteenth century on an individual and collective level. Marshalling the rhetoric of regional pride and competitive cooperation, not that of the medieval nation, the *Richard* marks a successful crusading association mainly through its contrast between being "trew" (608, 4803, 5423) to one's agreements, which Richard always is, and not being "fals and fykyl" (1300) or a "[t]raytour" (5472), as other Christians like Conrad and Philip sometimes are. Yet this simplistic view acquires some depth through the poem's consideration of personal intention and result in these agreements; because of crusading's usual justification of holy violence through "the state of mind of those responsible" and "the ends sought," it is no surprise that conversion or personal devotion, two topics equally dependent upon the individual's intent, also commonly feature in these exchanges.⁶⁸ While in my view the *Richard*'s primary contribution as a crusading

romance resides in its examination of associational bonds to measure past and future crusading negotiations, there are two other issues particular to crusading stressed by the poem that deserve some mention: the temporal privileges accorded to pilgrims and crusaders, and the customary crusader practice of ransoming Saracen prisoners without their conversion or extermination. For both of these issues the poem's stance is clear; it repeatedly censures those Christians who violate the special protections of pilgrims and crusaders, and it portrays the crusaders' successes as depending on an extreme resolve to "venge God off hys enemyes" (3346), arguing that the total conversion or death of defeated Saracens is necessary to repopulate the Holy Land with Christians.

PRIVILEGES AND PRISONERS IN *RICHARD CŒUR DE LION*

In addition to various spiritual privileges (including the indulgence) granted to crusaders, temporal privileges, which were derived from those granted to pilgrims, had existed since the First Crusade but were formalized by the church in the early thirteenth century. These privileges included ecclesiastical protection of the crusader's person, family, and property, benefits in various legal matters, a delay on repaying debts, immunity from taxation and interest, and protection against legal summons.⁶⁹ In essence, these privileges made the expensive, difficult, and lengthy journey required by crusading activity possible and also marked its participants as temporarily stepping outside of ordinary lay society. Since the pope had little direct influence on distant realms, though, the enforcement of crusader privileges required the cooperation of local, secular authorities. Though in general these authorities found it beneficial (and often profitable) to observe the privileges, there are several recorded instances of English crusaders' protections, for instance, being violated by other Englishmen on the higher and lower social scale during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; similar incidents are reported in the fourteenth century, showing that taking the cross and even obtaining a royal license confirming those privileges was by no means a guarantee of immunity.⁷⁰

Yet perhaps the most famous historical violation of a crusader's temporal protection was that involving Richard himself. Not only did Philip II of France conspire with Richard's brother John to attack and seize his lands before his return from the Holy Land but also on his return journey in 1192 Richard was captured and held prisoner by Leopold V of Austria and then by the Emperor Henry VI until his eventual release in February of 1194. For this action both men were excommunicated by

the pope but, being powerful and remaining recalcitrant, were otherwise unaffected.⁷¹ While opinion across Western Europe was divided according to those who loved or loathed Richard, news of it circulated widely and quickly through rumor and through the dissemination of copies of Henry VI's letter to Philip II celebrating Richard's capture. This letter, which found its way into Roger of Howden's chronicle covering Richard's reign and the Third Crusade, states that Richard, the "enemy of [Henry's] empire" and the "disturber of [Philip's] kingdom," was captured because of his "treason, treachery and mischief ... in the Holy Land," and that this news will surely bring Philip "great happiness."⁷² It is striking how readily other major European rulers were willing to imprison a crusading monarch because of his supposed misdeeds in Syria; there is no indication that Richard's privileges gave Leopold, Henry, or Philip any pause in their plans to detain him and extort money from him. While Howden makes no direct comment on Richard's crusader or pilgrim status when explaining his capture, the other chronicles of the Third Crusade present this incident as an affront to Christian religion and brotherhood, though they do not mention any ecclesiastical sanctions. Ambroise discusses this violation only briefly, noting that Richard was "taken when on pilgrimage under the protection of God" due to "premeditated treachery" (193), and then quickly moves on to his release and recapture of lost lands from Philip. Richard de Templo's version emphasizes the betrayal at greater length, stating that Richard "expected [no treachery] while he was on God's service in the hardships of pilgrimage" (382), complaining that Richard's "rivals advanced against him mercilessly and without cause" (383), and expressing shock, "After winning so many renowned and glorious triumphs over the Turks, King Richard was trapped by his brothers in faith, seized by those who were believed to share his Christian profession" (383). Although these chronicles' outrage at Richard's capture certainly stems in part from their bias toward him, even the French chronicler Rigord, usually hostile to Richard, wrote in his *Gesta Philippi Augusti* [The deeds of Philip Augustus] that Richard was captured unjustly and that it was done "contra morem omnium peregrinorum per quascumque terras christianorum secure transeuntium" [against the custom of all pilgrims traveling through whatever Christian lands safely].⁷³

In this respect, Richard's capture can be viewed less as an odd addendum to the Third Crusade and more as an event related to the larger set of problems that prevented and would continue to prevent the complete recovery of the kingdom of Jerusalem. While the chroniclers do not state this connection explicitly, perhaps Roger of Howden comes closest

to articulating it when he records a letter written by Celestine III to the English clergy in 1193 during Richard's captivity. This letter, which immediately follows the emperor's letter to Philip and other news regarding Richard's imprisonment, was written, according to Howden, because the pope believed that "the king of France and ... the brother of the king of England ... were waging war against the king of England," a statement which implies that the pope views this fighting as unacceptable.⁷⁴ In the letter itself, the pope attributed the failure of the Third Crusade to "the discords" and "frequent rancours" [*sic*] in the army, and declared that he has "entreated all the princes of the world" to put away all "feelings of rancour against another," which are all commonplace sentiments in crusade discourse.⁷⁵ However, the pope continues by saying that if these princes, "laying aside all fear of God and respect for [the papacy], and through contempt for the Christian faith," do not cease fighting, then he and the clergy will place their lands under interdict and their persons under excommunication.⁷⁶ Though the pope does not name Richard or anyone involved in his situation directly in this letter, he calls for peace among Christian princes in order to launch a new, more successful crusade campaign and to avoid previous mistakes, thus acknowledging that violating crusader privileges was a problem, one made glaringly evident because of Richard's well-known status. Indeed, Howden's chronicle confirms this view when it includes another papal letter to the English clergy later in the same year, which told them that, "the emperor and the whole of his empire would be placed under interdict unless the king of England were speedily liberated from his custody" and that "the king of France and his kingdom should be laid under interdict unless he should desist from persecuting the king of England," which is exactly what the pope had promised would happen in his previous letter.⁷⁷ Although there is little evidence that ecclesiastical threats or sentences influenced the behavior of Richard's captors or that of Philip and John, they did raise awareness of another disjunction between how crusading should function – that is, with crusader privileges dutifully observed – and how it currently was functioning – namely, with rivalry and dissension precluding rulers and regular crusaders from realizing the kind of associational action that could recover the Holy Land. It is this awareness that permeates the *Richard's* repeated emphasis on the protections accorded to crusaders and pilgrims and its reproach of those Christian rulers who infringe upon them.

Though the *Richard* conflates the status of pilgrim and crusader throughout, and though it rewrites the historical Richard's captivity to occur before his campaign to the Holy Land, the poem nonetheless uses

the privileges concomitant with taking the cross to reflect upon an issue that, while having its most notable example during the Third Crusade, was still relevant to fourteenth-century crusading rulers and to crusading practices in general. The inability or refusal of European monarchs to go on a crusading campaign throughout the fourteenth century resulted in part from the difficulties of establishing political stability at home or of trusting other rulers staying behind to leave one's lands alone. Philippe de Mézières's *Epistre au Roi Richart* [Letter to King Richard II] (1395), for instance, attempts to solve this problem by proposing a joint crusade between Richard II of England and Charles VI of France in order to end the papal schism and to allow suspicious enemies to make peace. Philippe advises that "the holy passage ... which ... will be undertaken by the lofty courage of [Charles] and [Richard]" will have several key effects, including the "recall of the soldiery, sullied and foully nourished by the blood of their slaughtered Christian brothers" and, through the addition of a marriage alliance, the prevention of future strife over "the crown of France" that has already led "a hundred thousand souls ... into Hell" in the Anglo-French conflict; in Philippe's view, the papal protection of a crusading king is insufficient to guarantee even a temporary peace.⁷⁸ By comparison, the widely popular travel narrative compilation known as *The Book of John Mandeville* (c. 1360), which has been described by Suzanne Yeager as a "devotional narrative" that shares similarities with the "crusade rhetoric" of the *Richard*, also emphasizes the need for peace in order to reconquer the Holy Land.⁷⁹ Though *The Book of John Mandeville* is not a crusading romance or a crusade treatise like Philippe's text, it describes the Holy Land as rightfully belonging to Christians while at the same time it censures Christian leaders whose immorality and lack of "goode acord" prevent its recovery; moreover, in one Latin version the text concludes by hoping for an end to Anglo-French hostilities, thus implying that crusader privileges alone are insufficient to permit a new crusade.⁸⁰

Temporal privileges were supposed to guarantee immunity from molestation and mark the bearer as outside of ordinary society, but in the *Richard* they are presented as always under threat. The first invocation of these privileges occurs when Richard and his two companions are captured in Germany on their return from Syria while dressed as "palmeres" (595), or pilgrims specifically traveling to the Holy Land. Betrayed by an English minstrel, Richard is brought before the fictitious German king Modard, who accuses them of being "spyes" (714) and of plotting some "treason" (722) against him, and threatens to imprison them by "law and ryght" (720). Richard's answer picks up on Modard's phrasing and seems

to contrast the law of kings with the protection of his religious status, for he says, "Thou dooth vnryght ... Palmers that gone by the waye, / Them to pryson nyght or daye" (724–6), and then asks that Modard do no "vylony" (728) to pilgrims because such actions may have unforeseen consequences. The poem's view soon becomes apparent, as Modard's son is killed by Richard in an exchange-of-blows contest, his daughter falls in love with Richard and sleeps with him, and his expensive pet lion is slain by Richard; all three of these calamities are bemoaned by Modard several times, reinforcing his errors of "suspeccoun" (967) and of detaining Richard without regard for his pilgrim status. Even when Modard eventually decides to release Richard for ransom, the poem revises history in order to assert the priority of crusader and pilgrim privileges over secular concerns, for after Richard announces the crusade in England, he travels to Germany with his army, induces Modard to restore all the treasure he took from England, and also persuades Modard to supply him with troops and provisions for the campaign. In contrast to the fate of the historical ransom for Richard, which the emperor never restored, the *Richard* presents the king's capture as a lesson to those who would hinder the crusading effort. Notably, the poem does not use the threat of excommunication by the church but instead relies upon the workings of an implied divine justice to correct violations of special religious status; furthermore, as is evident in the poem's two other discussions of crusader privileges, these corrections end in a restoration of the proper crusading cooperation that Christian rulers supposedly should have practiced in the first place.

While Richard's conflict with Modard began as the capture of a pilgrim without an army, the suspicion and mistrust expressed in that episode also inform Richard's conflict with the Orthodox Greek emperor of Cyprus, who captures some of Richard's people and takes his treasure after a shipwreck, though the emperor's honorable steward advises against his "vnryght" (2137) actions. By invoking the same temporal privileges as the reason for returning Richard's people and goods, the poem shows that it holds all Christians, not just Catholics, to the collective model of crusading, as shown in the steward's advice to the emperor not to wrangle with Richard:

Yelde hym his, or thou getis grete woghe:
 For he is crossed, and pylgrym,
 And all his men that ben with hym.
 Lette hym do his pylgrymage,
 And kepe thyselve frome damage!

(2142–6)

As with Modard, the emperor does indeed suffer great “woghe” and “domage” for his refusal to honor Richard and his army’s “crossed” status, so much so that his steward helps Richard defeat him and his barons eventually refuse to serve him, preferring Richard instead. After the emperor is defeated, Richard tells him that he “dyde grete dyshonour, / Whan he robbed pylgrymes / That were towarde the paynymes” (2362–4), again emphasizing the protection of crusaders’ goods and persons. When the emperor then regrets his temporary “accorde” (2389) with Richard and tries to rebel against him, he is captured and taken to “Surrey” (2448) where “Ayenst the Sarasynes he sholde werre” (2450). By compelling the emperor to fight against the Saracens for his failure to let the crusaders pass untroubled, the *Richard* closely resembles Pierre Dubois’s plan in his recovery treatise to punish those who broke the peace by sending them to fight on the front lines in Syria.⁸¹ Ultimately, though, these episodes in the poem are more focused on maintaining crusaders’ protections than on establishing general peace in Europe. In the end, the poem’s overall interest in temporal privileges is confirmed when Richard is forced to leave the Holy Land to tend to the “deray” (6547) [violence, wrongdoing] of Philip and John in his own lands, which is another violation of his privileges, although not directly stated as such in the text. In this context, Richard’s concluding truce with Saladin, which allows all Christians to travel as pilgrims to Jerusalem and other holy sites without “harme or damage” (7202), also reinforces the concept that other Christians should respect the special status of pilgrims and crusaders, especially if the Saracens are able to do so. As opposed to the recovery treatises, which hardly mentioned crusader privileges, and unlike the chronicles of the Third Crusade, which noted Richard’s improper captivity but failed to generalize from it, the poem makes temporal privileges a key topic during interactions among Christian rulers, particularly during the journeys to and from the Holy Land. Furthermore, through a combination of divine and earthly, but not ecclesiastical, punishment of wrongdoers, the *Richard* creates *exempla* illustrating why Christian rulers should honor these privileges as a part of its overall imagined solution to crusading issues. These *exempla* are in keeping with the poem’s primary concern with collective agreements, since in contrast to several historical rulers’ reactions to Richard’s capture, which increased division and conflict, contested crusader protections in the poem generally involve the establishing of various associational forms that support crusading.

The second crusading issue that the *Richard* addresses also connects to its main interest in collective agreements, for in contrast to the customary

practice in crusading warfare in Syria of ransoming or exchanging Islamic prisoners the poem adopts an extreme view that refuses negotiations with defeated Saracens without their conversion or death. That is, in opposition to a possible accord of the crusaders with Conrad or other Christian renegades, the poem rejects associations with Saracens that would preserve their religious identity and presence in the Holy Land. This view was not entirely original, as shown by the wholesale slaughter of the Muslim inhabitants of Jerusalem during the First Crusade, an act probably motivated partially by religious fanaticism and partially by practical military concerns.⁸² Yet after the First Crusade the Latins in the East had to accommodate themselves to living alongside Muslims, Jews, and various Christian sects by necessity because of their small numbers.⁸³ While newly arrived, zealous crusaders may have found this compromise perplexing or disheartening, they too generally followed the custom of ransoming Islamic prisoners up to the fourteenth century and expected that their opponents would do the same, likely because of their experience of warfare in the West.⁸⁴ Moreover, conversion was never a stated aim of the crusade campaigns to the Holy Land, though the papacy supported several independent missions to the Mongols as potential allies, and few Muslims ever converted. The *Richard's* drastic stance on conversion and the ransoming of prisoners, then, differs strongly from actual practice. If this view were presented in an isolated fashion, it would be easy to dismiss it as an example of literary fantasy and excess, but the poem explicitly contrasts this harsh method with the ordinary alternative of ransom without conversion several times in order to make a point.

In its focus on conversion as a means of reinforcing conquest, the poem may have been influenced by crusading in the Baltic, where the military order of the Teutonic Knights conducted a series of ongoing raids against the pagan Lithuanians with the stated purpose of forcibly converting them, and by the views of some of the recovery treatises, which viewed the loss of the Holy Land as resulting in part from the ever-dwindling number of Catholics defending it. The Baltic or northern crusades, as they are commonly called, were not fought against Muslims but against pagan peoples primarily in Prussia, Livonia, Estonia, and Lithuania.⁸⁵ These campaigns began during the Second Crusade when Bernard of Clairvaux persuaded the pope to authorize some German crusaders to fight against the Wends. This new development, which has been described by one historian as a "missionary war," did have violent conversion as its aim; in fact, Bernard told the crusaders that they must fight the Wends without respite "until such time as ... either their religion

or nation shall be wiped out.”⁸⁶ This campaign eventually led to the establishment of a “perpetual crusade” from the thirteenth to the early fifteenth century, with brutal fighting on both sides that “lacked even the regular pattern of war and truce which characterized the Catholic–Muslim frontiers in Granada and the Aegean.”⁸⁷ These Baltic crusades were mainly supported by the Teutonic Knights, and, unlike Eastern campaigns, operated without formal preaching and without the need for papal authorization, typically being conducted as a series of frontier raids open to participation by all who could afford it, though they were led by the Knights themselves. Despite the preponderance of Germans and Scandinavians in these campaigns, English knights and nobles, including the future Henry IV (Henry Bolingbroke) and Henry Percy (“Hotspur”), participated in them with greater frequency in the fourteenth century because of their accessibility and because Eastern campaigns were rare; an account of Bolingbroke’s 1390 campaign that reached England and was copied by historians celebrated the fact that captured Lithuanians would be compelled to convert, demonstrating that such a goal remained central to the enterprise.⁸⁸ This surge in English participation from around 1330 to the end of the fourteenth century in a set of crusading practices devoted to conversion is one potential influence on the *Richard’s* aggressive attitude towards Muslims in the Holy Land, particularly since other likely sources, such as the chronicles of the Third Crusade, do discuss the taking of Muslim prisoners for ransom and the rescue of Christian captives but barely mention the conversion of Muslims.⁸⁹

A second possible influence on the presentation of conversion and conquest in the poem comes from a different facet of fourteenth-century crusade discourse, the recovery treatises. While the majority of recovery treatises did not consider the topic of conversion in planning for a new crusade campaign to the East, instead concentrating on matters of finance or organization, or on criticizing the supposed errors of Islam, some expressed the aspiration of converting or annihilating the infidel.⁹⁰ Apart from Pierre Dubois’s unusual scheme of training Christian women to marry powerful Muslims in order to convert them, two other theorists, Marino Sanudo and Ramon Lull, saw conversion as a major aim of crusading practices in the East. These authors were well known and promoted their views around the courts of Europe in addition to communicating directly with the papacy. Sanudo’s major work on crusading, the *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* [Book of the secrets of the faithful of the cross] (1307–21), was sent to the pope, to the kings of England, France, and Sicily, and to several cardinals and counts; Sanudo also wrote over

forty letters on crusading to various important persons.⁹¹ Lull produced many propaganda treatises for the conversion of Muslims or for crusade campaigns; he sent some of these to the kings of Aragon and France, to Venice, and to the pope, including one to the Council of Vienne in 1311–12, where his desired goal of creating language schools to aid conversion efforts was met when the Council established chairs of Aramaic, Greek, and Hebrew at major European universities, including Oxford.⁹² Sanudo's treatise includes extensive, detailed financial analysis of a trade blockade, a history of the Holy Land to illustrate past mistakes, and a two-part plan for conquering Egypt and then the Holy Land, yet despite (or perhaps because of) this overwhelmingly practical, realistic approach, his stance on conversion was short and severe. The sub-title of the book reveals its purpose, "Qui est tam pro conservatione fidelium, quam pro conversione et consumptione infidelium" [that is both for the preservation of the faithful and for the conversion and destruction of the infidel], while Sanudo later asserts that, "Sancta Terra Promissionis ... conqueri poterit violenter: sed etiam caeteri undique infideles atque schismatici procul dubio subiugabuntur dominio Christiano, qui ad verum cultum nominis Iesu Christi ... velint, nolint conuertentur, Christianorum gladio persequente" [the Promised Land ... may be conquered by force ... but also other infidels and schismatics everywhere will be subjected to Christian lordship and may wish to convert to the true religion of Jesus Christ ... those who do not wish to convert may be put to the sword of the Christians].⁹³ By comparison, Lull repeatedly discussed conversion, though he tended to prefer peaceful means such as education or disputation. In his *Liber de fine* [Book of the end] (1305), however, Lull proposes that clerics skilled in Eastern languages should accompany the crusade so that they could dispute with captives, who either will convert or at least be taught the basic principles of the Catholic faith; these captives, upon their release, will tell others in their region about it.⁹⁴ However, Lull was not entirely opposed to the use of force, for he also explains that the same clerics will tell the other Saracens that the crusade leader "castra et ciuitates dabit eis, si uelint reuerti ad nostram fidem catholicam sacrosanctam" [will give them castles and cities, if they wish to return to our most holy catholic faith], and if they still do not convert, then "bellatoris ensis erit mouens, scindens et interficiens" [the sword of the warrior will be moving, cutting, and killing] them "in perpetuum" [perpetually].⁹⁵ Together the treatises of Sanudo and Lull, while thoroughly different in character, show that after the loss of the Holy Land some crusading theorists were reconsidering previous approaches to conversion and prisoners in the East and that their ideas

were broadly available in the early fourteenth century. The Council of Vienne, in addition to acting on Lull's advice to establish language schools for conversion, also showed more general changes in attitudes towards Christian and Muslim interactions, for it specifically prohibited the Islamic call to prayer in areas under Christian dominion where "Saracens live, sometimes apart, sometimes intermingled with Christians" and banned any Muslim pilgrimages to holy sites in those areas because these were "an insult to the holy name" and "displeasing [to] the divine majesty."⁹⁶

Unlike the Baltic campaigns or the recovery treatises, the *Richard's* view on conversion or extermination of Muslim prisoners does not come from a papal injunction or with explicit clerical support; rather, Richard himself develops it as part of his campaign strategy. Though there are a few early references to Richard's intention to slay the "hethen folke ... for Goddes loue" (340–1) and to "dystroye Goddes enemyes" (396) at his tournament at Salisbury, his policy of forced conversion seems to evolve only after Richard and Philip conquer Acre and negotiate with Saladin over the fate of the city's captured garrison. Historically Richard decided to execute the approximately 2,700 Saracen prisoners from the siege because he believed Saladin was deliberately delaying in not paying the ransom on time, though he spared some of the more noble ones to use in bargaining.⁹⁷ This action was certainly unusual given the accepted practice of prisoner ransoming in the East, and Muslims understandably decried it as barbaric; notably, there was no offer to the prisoners to convert. In the poem's version, however, which follows the general historical pattern of events but exaggerates the number of prisoners, Richard is provided divine support for this action when an angel tells the crusaders to "behedith these" (3750), though Richard still spares twenty hostages for "raunsoun" (3746). This incident leads directly into a feast where Richard instructs Philip how they should divide their forces and conquer the Holy Land:

Toun, cytee, and castel yff thou wynne,
 Slee alle the ffolk that be therinne!
 In Goddes name j the forbede
 Ffor gold, syluyr, ne for no mede
 ...
 Ryche ne pore lat non leuen
 ...
 But iff he wole take Crystyndome!

(3821–8)

Interestingly, Richard's plan ignores one of the main problems that faced the Latin holdings in the East, namely the lack of available manpower,

by proposing genocidal tactics; it clearly rejects the practice of ransoming prisoners and threatens to kill everyone, including women and children, who does not convert. Despite the poem's evident delight in bloody violence and in proving the superiority of the crusaders over the Saracens, this policy of conversion or extermination is not simply intended to increase the slaughter but is repeatedly presented as the only way to obtain lasting control over the Holy Land. When Philip ignores Richard's advice and exacts ransom from Saracen cities without their conversion, these cities mock and reject Christian rule, while Richard's policy of forcing conversion is shown to secure cities for "Crystene-men" (4296).⁹⁸ One can detect in the poem a parallel to the Council of Vienne's attitude against tolerating Muslim religious practices, for when Richard later hears about the manner of Philip's conquests, he angrily tells Philip that he did "God a gret ffalshede" (4694), presenting this acceptance of Muslims as the same kind of "insult to the holy name" mentioned in the Council's decrees. Yet whereas the Council's condemnation did not address a main reason why Christian rulers might leave Muslim populations in relative peace – that is, for taxes and monetary gain – the *Richard* specifically identifies money as Philip's motivation for sparing the towns. Instead of rejecting monetary gain altogether, though, Richard's plan secures both money and cities for Christian rule because, as he tells Philip, "Yff thou haddyst hem alle slayn" (4703), then he would have "wunnen al the good therjnne" (4705).

After Philip sees that his method fails and resolves to follow Richard's plan of conquest, the poem depicts increasing numbers of Muslims converting to Christianity as further evidence of the effectiveness of Richard's strategy. This progression culminates in a scene of massive voluntary conversion after Richard jousts with Saladin and captures Babylon; here many Saracens convert, seemingly convinced by Richard's prowess:

At morwen, whenne Kyng R. aros –
 Hys dedes were noble and his los –
 Sarezynes beffore hym come,
 And askyd of hym Crystyndome.
 There were crystenyd, as j ffynde,
 More than ffourty thousynde.
 Kyrkes they maden off Crystene lawe,
 And here Mawmettes leet doun drawe;
 And tho that wolden nought Crystene become,
 Richard leet slen hem, alle and some,
 And departyd the gret tresour
 Among the Crystene with honour.

(5879–90)

The poem's stress on how the Saracens actually "askyd" for "Crystyndome," combined with its reconstructive program of building churches and destroying mosques, seems to indicate that this policy will eventually augment the Christian cause by adding voluntary converts in addition to the "tresour" and "honour" earned through extermination, though some Saracens still refuse to convert and must be killed. Nevertheless, the *Richard's* harsh approach to conquest and conversion is not entirely consistent throughout the poem. Whether because of its aggregate composition, since the narrative moves from the fictional conquest of Babylon to a series of battles that more closely follow historical events before concluding with Richard's truce, or, less likely, because the crusader forces change in aims and abilities when Philip and Leopold leave after the conquest of Babylon, Richard twice violates his own policy when he captures the garrison of Darum and when he takes many hostages at Jaffa. These battles are historical, but only in the former do the chronicles record Richard as having taken prisoners.⁹⁹ At Darum in the poem Richard simply ransoms the prisoners for one thousand pounds each with no forcible conversion, though he still executes those who refuse to pay his high ransom – a compromise of his approach that seems unsettlingly Philip-like. At Jaffa, by comparison, when Richard arrives to rescue the Christian garrison from Saladin's army, the poem records that, after killing over 30,000 Saracens, Richard took one thousand prisoners, both ordinary Saracens and "hygh lordynge[s]" (6867), "in hostage" (6869). These prisoners are never mentioned again, so their fate is unclear, but perhaps in the poem's aggressive view Richard makes up for this breach when he and the army later kill a monstrous total of "Ten hundryd thousand hethene men" (7160) and defend the city.

In general, though, the *Richard* explicitly contrasts the practice of ransoming prisoners with the more hostile approach of conversion or death in order to argue the value of forced conversion. This imaginary plan for conquest in the East may have been influenced by the stated aim of forced conversion in the Baltic crusades, in which Englishmen participated in significant numbers in the fourteenth century, or by the changing attitude toward coexistence with Muslims expressed in some of the recovery treatises and by the church in the Council of Vienne, which sought to develop a way to recapture the kingdom of Jerusalem and maintain it more successfully. Of course, it is also possible that the *Richard* developed this view of conversion or annihilation independently, or that it turned to the past, such as the massacres of the First Crusade, for this idea. However, by rewriting the events of the Third Crusade, which with one exception

employed the typical custom regarding prisoner exchange, to show later audiences that great crusading leaders already had adopted this aggressive view, the poem distinguishes itself from the Baltic crusades and the recovery treatises because the actions are presented as divinely sanctioned and as an acceptable precedent, not as innovations. In any event, this attitude regarding conversion marks the poem as participating in and contributing to fourteenth-century crusade discourse in a way previously unnoticed by scholars because of the distraction of Richard's cannibalism. Moreover, on the level of literary form, by refusing negotiations with defeated Saracens without their conversion the poem connects this issue to its overall interest in associational forms and agreements. In the *Richard's* view, whereas such liminal figures as Conrad or the nameless renegade can be "recovered," as it were, through the negotiation of a new associational bond or, much like Lull proposed, through an exchange of goods and lands for religious faith, the Saracens themselves can at best form a temporary "trewes" (7188) with Christians, but ultimately have no place in the Holy Land if it is to be reclaimed.

THE PAST AND FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH CRUSADING ROMANCE

One prominent crusade historian has argued that to the clerical chroniclers of the First Crusade the army appeared like a "military monastery on the move" made up of those who had adopted a "temporary religious" status.¹⁰⁰ Though crusaders did not actually constitute a monastic community, the voluntary, temporary, and theoretically equitable associational forms that crusading practices allowed to develop also allowed Catholics of various social levels to perform political actions that reshaped the military, economic, and devotional aims of much of Western Europe for centuries. These associational forms were, for the most part, "anti-national" in the sense that they frequently opposed adherence to a single linguistic and geographic identity, and that they existed in parallel to protonationalistic impulses as an alternative method of organizing social relations. English participation in these anti-national forms, a topic that impinges directly upon scholars' sense of what constitutes "English" identity and English literary interests, is often minimized or passed over in preference for political disputes that seem more familiar to the modern world, such as the Anglo-French conflict or the anti-papal stance of Lollardy, which appears to anticipate the Reformation's more modern religious sensibilities. It may seem contradictory, but crusade discourse

always acknowledged the differences among various Christian powers – their varying languages and regions, and the competitiveness that often resulted from such differences – while still presenting a united Christendom as its ideal. In Ardis Butterfield's analysis of Chaucer and of Anglo-French relations during the Hundred Years War, she explains that her work, "[r]ather than seeking to claim nationhood for the Middle Ages ... is interested in seeing how the Middle Ages helps the current quest to dismantle or at least re-evaluate ideas of nation"; this chapter also supports that quest, mainly because, despite its repugnant bigotry, crusading was not at the periphery of but central to the medieval and early modern experience.¹⁰¹

The crusading ideal of a united Christendom remained a potent force, or perhaps even gained strength, in fourteenth-century England. After the fall of Acre, various regional church councils were summoned in 1291–2, including those in England. They, like some of the authors of the recovery treatises, were asked to consider the best means to recover the Holy Land, yet regrettably most of their decisions have been lost. The few surviving records of the councils express a set of views about leadership, the unification of the military orders, finance, and universal peace that are largely consistent with those of the recovery treatises; the Council of Canterbury, for instance, advocated sending Arabic-speaking preachers to convert the Muslims in a manner similar to Lull's proposal.¹⁰² In light of these councils, the ideas found in the recovery treatises, or at least some version of them, had far wider circulation in Europe than the surviving documents indicate. If we consider the treatises in combination with the proliferation of crusade taxes, negotiations, councils, preaching, and popular movements occurring around the same time, then the period from the late thirteenth century through the early fourteenth century becomes identifiable as a time of intense interest in and speculation about the Holy Land in particular and about crusading practices in general.¹⁰³ This period is, unsurprisingly, also when the *Richard* was most likely composed; as part of this energetic explosion, the poem signals the beginning of a literary tradition in English writing that would continue to explore crusading's alternative forms of political action from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. This tradition to which the *Richard* belongs is primarily expressed in late medieval England through the sub-genre of the crusading romance, which I define by the presence of some of several features common to crusade discourse, such as a military campaign against non-Christians for personal salvation, a preaching campaign involving soldiers becoming signed with the cross, pilgrimages to the Holy Land, the linking of penitence with

the conversion of or conflict with non-believers, and, crucially, a narrative pattern of loss and recovery.

The *Richard* itself articulates a distinct point of view regarding crusading practices that derives from its examination of the uses and limits of associational forms. No other Middle English romance, to my knowledge, focuses so heavily on treaties and agreements with such a range of peoples of various regions and religions, including Catholics, Orthodox Christians, and Muslims. The poem's use of a coherent associational lexicon, such as the "covenant" and "accord" that make the paradigmatic "felawrede" [fellowship] of the combined crusader army possible, to describe these agreements assuredly grows out of a similar vocabulary found in the chronicles of the Third Crusade, such as those by Ambroise and Richard de Templo, which adapted available terms for oaths and treaties to describe Richard and Philip's partnership. Yet this vocabulary also stretches back to the behavior and assumptions of Normans and Englishmen at the conquest of Lisbon during the Second Crusade, where a crusading body politic of "mutual service" was directly opposed to one of "lordship," or even to the actions of earlier Normans and Englishmen during the First Crusade, where, as the eyewitness chronicler Fulcher of Chartres put it, a "multitude" became "brothers ... of nearly one mind."¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, this lexicon is not timeless and static, as the *Richard* locates its discussion of associational crusading practices within fourteenth-century concerns about leadership and unity in an increasingly factious European milieu. The poem's imagined solution, which mixes what I have called the conciliar and authoritarian models of the chronicles, is uncommon, if not exceptional, in fourteenth-century crusade discourse, for it preserves the aspect of collective partnership that several contemporary proposals were prepared to set aside in favor of professional soldiers directly paid by church stipend or the sole action of a unified military order. The poem's examination of crusading associations is also conceptually related to two secondary issues highlighted in it, namely the violation of crusaders' temporal privileges and the need to adopt an aggressive policy of forced conversion in the East, both of which show the *Richard* wrestling with contemporary questions about how to make crusading associations among Christians possible or how to maintain control of the Holy Land by refusing certain kinds of agreements with Saracens, respectively. Overall the poem's considerable attention to these issues, while not completely consistent, demonstrates that, when investigating the diversity of attitudes towards crusading in the fourteenth century, historians should also consider English literary texts as valuable evidence.

Fidenzio of Padua argued in a recovery treatise completed shortly before the fall of Acre that, “*Divisio ... multum nocuit Christianis habitatoribus Terre Sancte*” [Division has greatly harmed the Christian inhabitants of the Holy Land], and that crusaders sorely needed such qualities as “*caritas*” [charity], “*unitas*” [unity], and “*fidelitas*” [fidelity] to create “*una societas*” [one society] that could act to preserve the Holy Land.¹⁰⁵ The *Richard* explores similar ideas, but differs from the recovery treatises in that the poem invokes crusading’s past – the campaign of the Third Crusade, which itself participated in the cycle of loss and recovery of the Holy Land – in order to, as the author and redactors of the *Richard* likely hoped, inspire another revolution in that cycle in the fourteenth century. While it is true that the *Richard* is intent upon producing a version of the Saracen “Other,” as previous literary scholars have argued, the poem and other English crusading romances like it were equally concerned with the evident failures of the ideal of a united Christendom, an ideal that, for all its rhetoric, depended upon harnessing personal devotion and regional difference in a cooperative, voluntary fashion.

Sir Isumbras's "privy" recovery *Individual crusading in the fourteenth century*

The faithful warriors of Christ, who lay out their own life for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, should not desire earthly property inordinately, but they should hold their heart to liberating the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels, to acquiring indulgence for all their sins, and to possessing ... eternal life.

Fidenzio of Padua, *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae* (1290)¹

The previous chapter examined an English literary text, *Richard Cœur de Lion* (c. 1300), typically understood as a crusading romance. We have seen how the poem, loosely based on the exploits of Richard I of England on the Third Crusade, represents crusading's associational political forms and, in contrast to the general scholarly consensus, contributes to fourteenth-century crusade discourse. This chapter focuses on the short Middle English romance *Sir Isumbras* (c. 1330), a text that, though likely composed soon after *Richard Cœur de Lion*, has never been considered as engaged with crusading thought. Certainly there are significant differences between the two poems to support such an assessment: *Richard Cœur de Lion* reimagines historical crusaders and military campaigns with at least some geographic and factual accuracy in over 7,000 lines of rhyming couplets, while *Sir Isumbras* relates the personal suffering of an entirely fictional knight who is directly punished by God and travels from Western Europe to the Holy Land principally by himself in roughly 800 lines arranged in tail-rhyme stanzas. Despite these differences in plot and form, the two works share common narrative elements – particularly a pattern of loss and recovery – that indicate their larger relationship in crusade discourse. *Sir Isumbras* does not contain all of the same features of the crusading romance represented in *Richard Cœur de Lion*, but this disparity merely reflects the variable emphases of crusading practices themselves. That is, just as historical crusading practices were divided between the actions of large armies and the armed “pilgrimages” of small groups or individuals seeking personal salvation, so too, I argue, English crusading texts sometimes center on

holy war against religious opponents and sometimes focus on the penitential journeys of individual knights who often achieve redemption through a combination of fighting and suffering. In other words, *Richard Cœur de Lion* primarily emphasizes military battles against non-believers and conquest through forced conversion while *Sir Isumbras* primarily emphasizes personal sinfulness and individual devotional practices, though both texts include all of these elements. Moreover, they share a strong interest in crusading's purpose and failures, and offer valuable evidence for contemporary English crusading thought.

In order to outline this second, more personal form of the English crusading romance, this chapter begins by considering some historical examples of individual crusading before turning to *Sir Isumbras's* story of a single, sinful knight who redeems himself by carving a cross on his shoulder and traveling to the Holy Land. After briefly reviewing its critical reception and establishing that *Sir Isumbras's* features qualify it as an example of the redefined genre of the crusading romance, I analyze the poem's specific contributions to English crusade discourse by discussing its response to historical issues arising after the loss of the last mainland possession of the Latin kingdom in the Holy Land with the fall of Acre in 1291. Articulating a simple yet accessible narrative of reform, *Sir Isumbras* in my view responds to the Holy Land's loss, but it does so as part of a larger set of historical reactions, namely the "popular" crusades of the early fourteenth century and the chronicles of Acre's fall. The so-called popular crusades operated outside ecclesiastical control and expressed the frustration of the lower classes and lesser nobles with crusading's direction, while the chroniclers of Acre's fall blamed the loss of the Holy Land on the upper classes and urged their reform; both offered distinct but related views as to why crusading was unsuccessful and what actions should be taken, and both appealed to a larger audience than the noble elites. Through its reaction to these contemporary historical movements and its commitment to acquiring dominion in the East via a kind of permanent crusading, *Sir Isumbras* offers a glimpse into fourteenth-century English thought about alternative practices of crusading as a means for the reform of aristocratic elites, even as the poem's brevity and simplicity testify to continued faith in crusading as a positive enterprise of recovery that depends as much upon "privy" [personal, private] as upon royal or papal interest.

Recent scholarship on later medieval England has explored the individual's use and adaptation of existing religious doctrine or rituals for other purposes, studying, for example, the increased emphasis on female

spirituality typified in figures such as Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe, and Birgitta of Sweden, the "vernacular theology" of Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton, and the influence of John Wyclif and the heretical Lollards.² Among other things, these studies reveal that the Middle Ages was a period replete with disagreement, debate, and the questioning of tradition. English engagement with crusading practices and literature should be understood similarly, and, though certain broad correspondences in crusade discourse can be found across much of Western Europe, in England it was refracted through local conditions and was challenged or adapted in vernacular texts. Thus, the individual practices presented and exemplified in literary texts like *Sir Isumbras* allow us to uncover a richer history of crusading and the way it altered or enabled medieval thought about issues such as reform, religious experience, or political action. Finally, and perhaps most importantly for literary critics, reading *Sir Isumbras* as the tale of the reform of a knight through crusading reveals a unity to the poem that previous studies have found lacking; this revised understanding of the poem also indicates that the corpus of English crusading literature may not always meet expectations shaped by works such as *Richard Cœur de Lion*.

INDIVIDUALS ON CRUSADE IN LATER MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

In the late thirteenth century Western Europe suffered the notable disgrace of losing the last of the Christian strongholds in mainland Syria, but throughout the early fourteenth century Western powers were unable to launch a crusading army to recover the Holy Land despite repeated and costly attempts.³ This lack of large-scale military activity did not pass unnoticed by contemporaries; the attitude expressed by the clerical chronicler Adam of Murimuth in 1347 – the disappointment that "nothing was ... done" despite multiple crusading plans, discussions, and of course the imposition of taxes – was not unusual in early fourteenth-century Europe.⁴ However, to assume that the absence of military campaigns to the East in this period indicates a general loss of interest in the Holy Land ignores historical reality and late medieval attitudes toward crusading, as recent scholarly work has shown.⁵ Acre's loss in many respects crystallized issues regarding crusade reform, and, though no new crusade to the Holy Land ever materialized, crusading in its various guises experienced renewed vitality throughout the fourteenth century – notably in Iberia, Italy, and the Baltic – in spite of the ravages of the Black Death, the suppression of the Templars, the collapse of prominent Italian banking houses that

supported crusade finance, and the Anglo-French conflict.⁶ Indeed, crusading continued to receive intense attention from all social groups until the defeat of the large crusader army at Nicopolis in 1396, though in one recent interpretation even the dampening effects of this defeat on crusading interest may have been “exaggerated.”⁷ While the Holy Land may have remained in heathen hands, crusading remained a diverse, multi-faceted, and vibrant set of practices that continued to be contested and redefined despite the papacy’s sophisticated descriptions of it in papal bulls and in canon law.

With no major campaign to the Holy Land in the early fourteenth century in which they could participate, those attracted to crusading either joined campaigns to other areas or traveled to their preferred location on small crusading “pilgrimages,” or both, although neither of these alternatives was new. In fact, from its beginning crusading had encompassed two distinct sets of behavior; following the First Crusade, as Christopher Tyerman explains, “Little coherence existed between large-scale expeditions east ... [and] small, private armed and unarmed pilgrimages, many lacking any papal authority.”⁸ The ambiguity of what crusading meant to contemporaries is evident in the terminology used, for, as Tyerman continues, “the language and practice of crusading and pilgrimage increasingly fused together, [with] pilgrims and holy warriors indiscriminately described as *peregrini* (pilgrims) ... Not all armed pilgrims fought ... and not all who fought had taken the cross.”⁹ This broader understanding of crusading acquired ecclesiastical support following Gregory IX’s encyclical *Rachel suum videns* in 1234 – a call to crusade that circulated widely throughout Europe and that was copied by the English chroniclers Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris – which, among other things, offered the full spiritual rewards of crusading to those who went to the Holy Land as unarmed pilgrims, not just to those who participated in a campaign.¹⁰ In fourteenth-century England, crusading continued to function in and oscillate between these two forms of holy war and personal pilgrimage. Though the state and imprecision of extant records make it difficult to determine the total number of English crusaders in this period, smaller numbers of English knights joined crusading campaigns in Spain, North Africa, and in the Baltic, with a significant number present on Peter I of Cyprus’s 1365 Alexandria campaign, while some went on individual pilgrimages to Constantinople or the Holy Land itself.¹¹ The formulaic royal licenses permitting such journeys do not reveal the crusaders’ intentions, but it seems reasonable that frustration with the lack of major activity may

have been channeled into individual crusading expeditions, at least for those who could afford to do so.

These individual crusading pilgrimages have a long but relatively unacknowledged history that demonstrates the diversity and flexibility of crusading practices available to real men and women and, by extension, to fictional knights in romances such as *Sir Isumbras*. A few examples from the early twelfth to late thirteenth century show how personal pilgrimages could exist separately or be combined with holy war. Around 1102, for instance, Godric of Finchale, an English merchant who turned hermit, traveled to Jerusalem two separate times as a penitent pilgrim, yet he nonetheless formally took the "sanctae signaculum Crucis" [sign of the holy Cross] each time by placing the "Dominicae vexillum Crucis in humeris" [banner of the Lord's Cross on his shoulders], suggesting the military rhetoric of crusading; as Tyerman notes, "Evidently his biographer ... found no contradiction in this; nor presumably did Godric."¹² Godric's apparently solitary journey to the Holy Land differs from that of Richard, earl of Cornwall, whose great wealth enabled him to lead a crusading campaign there in 1240–1 with a total force of approximately 800 knights, though this campaign involved only negotiations, not fighting, because of the political situation in the East.¹³ Before arriving in the Holy Land, Richard and the other crusaders had refused to be diverted to other locations by the pope in terms emphasizing a desire for combat: "Et ne per cavillationes Romanae ecclesiae honestum votum eorum impediretur, nec ad effusionem sanguinis Christiani vel in Graeciam vel in Ytaliam ... distorqueretur, juraverunt omnes se in Terram Sanctam in expeditionem ecclesiae sanctae Dei illo anno migraturos" [and in order that their honourable vow might not be impeded by the cavillings of the Roman church nor be turned aside, for the shedding of Christian blood, to Greece or to Italy ... all swore to set out in that year to the Holy Land, to liberate the holy church of God].¹⁴ Although Richard's commitment to the Holy Land above other destinations surely indicates the high status accorded to fighting there, one may also detect his interest in the personal, penitential component of crusading, since he visited St. Albans before departing England to request the monks' prayers and later stopped to worship at the shrine of St. Giles in southern France.¹⁵ Unlike Godric, Richard and his followers were prepared to fight, but, as was the case for many crusaders, their vow could easily incorporate concern for individual salvation. Of course, some English crusading practices, while involving small numbers, remained focused on holy warfare. For example, after serving in Richard's 1240–1 campaign, William Longsword the younger, "exemplo regis Francorum et

nobilium de regno Francorum animati" [encouraged ... by the example of the French king and nobles], returned to the East to join the Seventh Crusade (1248–54), led by Louis IX of France, with a relatively small force of English knights.¹⁶ William and the English spent their time skirmishing with the enemy in Egypt and were almost completely destroyed at the battle of Mansourah in 1250, though he, according to Matthew Paris, "martyr ... coronandum" [must be crowned a martyr] because of his brave death.¹⁷ Each of these examples presents a different combination of holy war and individual pilgrimage for English crusading practices, from Godric's individual pilgrimage enhanced by crusading insignia and rhetoric, to Richard of Cornwall's mix of devotional and martial objectives, to William Longsword's military service on another king's expedition; together they provide a better context for us to assess the influence of individual crusading practices on the crusading romance.

Perhaps the most relevant historical crusader for the individual form of the crusading romance at the beginning of the fourteenth century is Otho de Grandson (c. 1238–1328), the son of a Savoyard noble who grew up in the service of Henry III of England's son, the Lord Edward, and who later served as his household knight when he became Edward I. In addition to reminding us about the fluidity of what "English" crusading meant through his birth in what is today southeast France, Otho's varied crusading experience demonstrates that fourteenth-century English authors would have viewed a range of practices, not just large military operations by Richard I or Louis IX, as crusading, and that these practices could all be performed by the same person. In his youth Otho, having assumed the cross for the first of three times in his life, accompanied Edward, still a prince, on Louis IX's crusade to Tunis in 1270. Edward, discouraged by the king's death and the hasty conclusion of a truce in Tunis, traveled on to the Holy Land in 1271 with Otho and a small force of 1,000 soldiers, though they accomplished little.¹⁸ This firsthand experience with holy warfare in Africa and Syria presumably served him well when, having taken the cross a second time, Otho journeyed to the Holy Land in the summer of 1290 with perhaps as few as fifteen Englishmen in total.¹⁹ This individual crusade, supported to some extent by the king, was probably intended to gather information for Edward's planned crusade campaign, but instead Otho was embroiled in the final, failed defense of Acre in 1291. Having survived the city's capture and lost most of his money, Otho nonetheless stayed in the East until 1294, visiting Jerusalem and other holy sites as a peaceful pilgrim and staying at Armenia's royal court.²⁰ His trip to Jerusalem, which was for his own spiritual benefit and for that of Edward's

recently deceased queen, Eleanor, was well known in England, since it was recorded in a painting on her tomb in Westminster Abbey; perhaps significantly, in the painting Otho appears with his knightly armor, heraldic surcoat, and sword, not as an unarmed pilgrim, again suggesting continuity with his crusading journey.²¹ With its combination of armed travel and penitent pilgrimage, Otho's second journey to the East provides a key instance of how individual crusading could function in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Furthermore, his close association with Acre and the loss of the Holy Land makes him a particularly noteworthy figure, as on the one hand Otho was appointed to negotiate with the pope in 1305 regarding the crusade and became an English ambassador at the Council of Vienne in 1311–12 because of his crusading experience, but on the other hand some chroniclers of Acre's fall accused him of greed and of abandoning his post during the siege, tarnishing his reputation as a knight.²² Indeed, one might speculate that some sense of personal failure resulting from Acre's loss contributed to Otho's decision to take the cross for the final time in 1307, although it is just as likely that he was prompted solely by his own commitment to the state of the Holy Land. At the age of seventy-four, Otho set out for the East in 1312 with a small retinue, but was forced to abandon his journey after being robbed and briefly imprisoned while still in Europe; eventually he redeemed his vow on account of old age through monetary payment in 1319, thereby having participated in several of the available forms of crusading in the period for various motivations, both military and personal.²³

As the cases of Godric, Richard of Cornwall, William Longsword, and especially Otho show, English crusading and crusading in general did not always appear as the large military campaign represented either in historical expeditions such as the First Crusade or in epics such as the *Chanson d'Antioche*. The contrast between Otho's first and second crusades, both of which involved armed combat against the infidel but differed radically in size, intended scope, and papal involvement, reveals how individuals continued to adapt crusading practices to their own purposes long after Innocent III had codified crusading's ecclesiastical provisions in the early thirteenth century.²⁴ By altering our understanding of the English crusading romance to include the pilgrimage journeys of individuals or small groups, we can incorporate the full array of the medieval evidence and better perceive the relationship among texts that discuss ecclesiastically defined, large military campaigns against non-Christians, such as *Richard Cœur de Lion* or *The Sowdone of Babylone* (c. 1400), and romances that portray individual struggles for salvation and recovery through pilgrimages,

penitence, and conversions of or conflicts with Saracens or pagans, such as the subject of this chapter, *Sir Isumbras*.

THE POEM AND ITS RECEPTION

The Middle English romance *Sir Isumbras*, likely composed in the early 1330s, though possibly circulating closer to 1320, survives in multiple manuscripts that testify to its popularity.²⁵ It is typically classified as a subgenre of the chivalric romance, the “homiletic romance,” a term used by Dieter Mehl to describe the religious aspects of the story.²⁶ Though seemingly the tale of a minor hero, the anonymous *Cursor mundi* lists the story of Isumbras in a sequence of other romances that include Alexander, Arthur, Gawain, and Charlemagne; additionally, William of Nassington (d. 1354), a churchman, disparages it along with the romance *Octavian* as “veyn carpyng” of “armes” in the introduction to his translation of the *Speculum vitae*.²⁷ Thus, though Isumbras may not be a Charlemagne or an Arthur, at least in the fourteenth century he was considered significant enough to mention alongside such iconic medieval heroes.

Sir Isumbras relates the story of a prosperous knight with a beautiful wife and three sons. At the beginning of the tale, Isumbras is punished by God for the sin of pride because he forgets to think on God for all his blessings. Challenged by a divine messenger in the form of a bird while he is hunting in the forest, Isumbras acknowledges his sinfulness and, when offered the choice of suffering poverty now or later in life, he chooses the former. All of the knight’s possessions are summarily lost or destroyed, and he resolves to take his family to the Holy Land, signing himself with the cross. On the way to the Mediterranean Isumbras loses his sons, who are abducted by wild beasts, and his wife, who is forcibly taken by an invading Eastern sultan to be made queen of his lands. After enduring much travail as a knight, a smith, a pilgrim, and a beggar, Isumbras revenges himself on the sultan by slaying him in a large battle, is formally forgiven by an angel, reunites with his wife, and becomes king of the sultan’s lands. Although his people turn on him when he proclaims Christianity as his kingdom’s religion, Isumbras’s sons miraculously reappear and together the family slays huge numbers of Saracens. Eventually the sons conquer additional kingdoms over which they too rule as kings, and after death the entire family ascends to heaven. To sum up, *Sir Isumbras* utilizes many popular romance *topoi*, such as abduction, identification by tokens, disguise, and miraculous victory in order to relate the story of a knight who, though initially described as king of “curtesye,” nonetheless loses all his

possessions through a direct act of God, only to recover them in greater abundance after much suffering and fighting through the foundation of a dynastic kingdom in the Holy Land.²⁸

In this outline of the plot, *Sir Isumbras* can be compared to many other brief Middle English romances, and hence, in what little critical attention it has received, the poem has generally been treated as a member of a tail-rhyme group of romances that share similar plot elements and themes.²⁹ Many scholarly approaches focus on the poem's generic identity as the key to its interpretation. Dieter Mehl, W. R. J. Barron, Anne Thompson, and Rhiannon Purdie, for example, all discuss the poem in terms of its mix of religious or didactic elements with chivalric adventure, though their views on the poem's artistic achievement differ.³⁰ Thompson argues that "the romance model ... moves *Isumbras* in rather superficial ways towards conformity with that genre, but the resulting text lacks narrative coherence: although the hagiographical emphases are lost ... a new meaning is not clearly articulated."³¹ Purdie, by contrast, finds that "*Sir Isumbras* was a successful medieval experiment in the cross-breeding of genres, and it inherited the strong generic identities of both its hagiographic and romance parents."³² This scholarly interest in and continuing disagreement about the poem's genre in part derive from its extant source material, as *Sir Isumbras* is an analogue of the legend of St. Eustace, a pagan Roman general who is miraculously converted to Christianity by a divine messenger in the form of a stag and separated from his family under similar circumstances. Laurel Braswell's exhaustive treatment of the parallels between the two works also notes that the poem displays the "Man Tried by Fate" motif prevalent in several other English romances.³³ While Braswell's tracing of hagiographic themes and influences on *Sir Isumbras* is valuable, the narrative parallels between the legend and the poem do not, in my view, sufficiently explain what Braswell terms the poem's "special emphasis" on Christian-Muslim conflict in comparison to its source, particularly since, as Purdie notes, *Sir Isumbras* appears after the Eustace legend declined greatly in popularity.³⁴

It may be helpful, then, to consider other influences and genres rather than continuing, as it were, to beat Eustace's stag. A question that previous studies have not addressed at length is why the anonymous author would reimagine this fading saint's life at this point in the fourteenth century (and why it would become so popular) with such peculiar changes: namely, Isumbras's identity as a Christian knight rather than pagan general, his carving of a cross in his shoulder, and his extensive conflict with and conquest over Islamic enemies in Europe and the Holy Land. It is

only possible to answer this question, I believe, if we consider romances such as *Sir Isumbras* as topical, as works engaging with specific shifts in larger cultural discourses; in this respect, I am following a line of inquiry established by other scholars who have moved beyond the relationship of the poem to hagiography. Recent interpretations of *Sir Isumbras* by Andrea Hopkins and Elizabeth Fowler, for instance, have stressed its engagement with prominent political and historical features of medieval culture.³⁵ Hopkins reads the poem as reflecting on broad changes in penitential theory and practice, and sees Isumbras's sense of sinfulness and commitment to fulfilling his self-imposed penance as adding a symbolic dimension to the poem's battles and landscape that reflects the state of his soul.³⁶ In Fowler's argument, *Sir Isumbras* articulates an ambitious thought experiment in political philosophy and jurisprudence and tests the basis for lordship and dominion through its depictions of investiture, consent, vow-making, and penance, although, as she puts it, "its grasp [ultimately] exceeds its reach."³⁷ Both of these studies break significantly with previous critical approaches to the poem, and they identify a coherence in it (i.e., as opposed to a collection of borrowed plots elements) that I wish to extend to the specific context of crusade discourse in the early fourteenth century.³⁸

The topicality of the poem's political concerns can be better understood by considering the history of crusading practices in England, especially that of Otho de Grandson's historical second crusade of 1290–4, as an informative, indirect parallel for Isumbras's fictional journey. That is, both Otho and Isumbras take the cross and travel alone or with a small company; both sail across the Mediterranean, specifically to the cities of Acre and Jerusalem; both participate in a large battle between Christians and Muslims but do not join an extended military campaign; both stay as a "palmer" (494) in the Holy Land; both lose all of their money; both favor the forced conversion of Saracens over peaceful preaching; and both combine the actions of a penitential pilgrim with those of an armed warrior.³⁹ Though I do not propose that *Sir Isumbras* is based on Otho's voyage, the correspondences between the two indicate the importance of individual crusading, both historical and literary, in English thought shortly after the fall of Acre.

Furthermore, the poem's depiction of conflict with non-Christians and its examination of issues of dominion reflect contextual developments in the crusade propaganda and texts that circulated throughout England and the continent in greater volume after the fall of Acre, and in the increasingly centralized, hierarchical organization of the papal institution that

severely curtailed knightly action without royal approval.⁴⁰ These factors, combined with the inaction of English monarchs, produced and sustained interest in alternative practices of crusading, such as the individual crusading pilgrimage, which, we must recall, was one part of an entire range of devotional and economic procedures. These alternative practices included the signs of substantial "private enterprise" among knights and lesser lords who found ways to crusade without royal support, but also extended to events such as the popular crusades themselves, which arose in opposition to the centralized control of the papacy and the developing national monarchies.⁴¹ *Sir Isumbras* is one example of how crusade discourse appeared in new forms – as a crusading romance depicting crusading principally without an army – in English literature during this period.

Sir Isumbras qualifies as a crusading romance, albeit one of the individual variety, because it contains several of the redefined genre's key features discussed in the Introduction and because the text as a whole employs crusade discourse's narrative structure of loss and recovery. Though the poem lacks an ecclesiastically defined military campaign against non-Christians, with the dubious exception of Isumbras's participation in the Christian king's battle against the invading sultan, the poem does portray Isumbras's struggle for salvation, as he falls into sin and suffers divine punishment, becoming a "kerefull [sorrowful] ... manne" (379), until he atones for all his "evell dedys" (516) so that his and his family's souls immediately go "to hevenn" (791) after death. This last element, the direct ascension into heaven of Isumbras and his family, typically was reserved for saints and martyrs, but in popular thought and preaching was also promised to crusaders, who were said to bypass the pains of purgatory altogether because of their meritorious service.⁴² In some cases, as in an early thirteenth-century crusade sermon by James of Vitry, the salvific effect of crusading was presented as benefitting crusaders' families as well, with "spouses and children ... included ... in as much as they contribute to expenses," so crusaders should "have no doubt ... that this pilgrimage affords not only [them] ... the reward of eternal life, but that whatever good [they] do on this journey on behalf of [their] spouses, children and parents, whether living or dead, will profit them greatly."⁴³ The poem also links Isumbras's struggle for salvation to crusading's promise of regaining physical and spiritual goods. He accomplishes the former through his choice of poverty in his youth and "welthe in [his] elde" (66), which is enacted by the replacement of his knightly status with "peyne" (78) and "kare" (126) until his eventual rise to kingship, so that "In more welthe then evur he was, / And rekoverteth hath all his care" (719–20); Isumbras also regains the spiritual goods

of humility and faithfulness to God when he refuses the sultan's offer to convert to Islam – even with the promise of restored knightly status – and instead labors as a smith until he learns to make the armor he previously took for granted. Invoking another feature of the crusading romance, *Sir Isumbras* uses the transformative imagery of the cross in order to signal the protagonist's shift from sinful knight to penitential crusader when Isumbras decides to carve a cross on his shoulder and travel to the Holy Land of his own accord. This crusading pilgrimage, which involves armed combat in the defense of Christendom as well as personal spiritual reform, results in the conversion of Saracens when he proclaims Christianity in his kingdom and subsequently "cristened all that were therinne" (782) in the three kingdoms conquered for his sons. To some extent, the pattern of loss and recovery common to crusade discourse embraces all these features in the poem, whether on a personal spiritual level, with Isumbras's "loss" of his innocence or goodness through sin and his "recovery" of that state through "penaunce" (514) and heavenly forgiveness, or on an individual physical level, with the dramatic loss of his feudal property, wealth, and family in Europe and his recovery of all of these in the Holy Land, or on the general level of Christendom, with the implied loss of earlier Christian holdings in Syria to "Sarezens" (761) and their recovery by the foundation of four new Christian kingdoms there.

The poem's status as a crusading romance reveals the genre's potential to combine entertaining stories with social criticism. Beyond its use of several features common to the crusading romance, *Sir Isumbras* contributes to fourteenth-century crusade discourse primarily by attributing the continued loss of the Holy Land to the indifference of knights in Europe. Scholars have noted that the poem's plot arrangement – Isumbras's initial, leisurely inaction at home and the subsequent loss of all his goods and status – implies a critique of the aristocracy. As Mehl states, "the poet consciously stressed this contrast [between Isumbras's perfection as an ideal knight and his forgetting of God's grace] in order to interest his audience in the hero and at the same time to criticize traditional ideals of knighthood."⁴⁴ This critique of ideal knighthood evident in the poem's plot, while not uncommon in other medieval writing, is unusual in medieval romances; its presence in the poem overlaps with a large portion of fourteenth-century crusade discourse that placed the blame for Acre's loss on European knights' inaction.⁴⁵ Though in my view *Sir Isumbras* focuses on fourteenth-century crusading issues, the questions it poses about penance or dominion cannot be separated from more general issues that animated crusading practices throughout their history; related approaches to

the penitential aspects of solitary crusading can be found in the romances *Guy of Warwick* (c. 1330) and *Sir Gowther* (c. 1400).⁴⁶ Isumbras's political recovery of dominion in the East illustrates how an individual's religious recovery from a sinful state could accomplish what the large military campaigns of the period failed to do with arms. In this regard, the poem remains true to the devotional origins of crusading – a task so strenuous that it remits the penance for all confessed sins – even as it draws upon early fourteenth-century crusade movements that stressed the need for simple faith, humility, and purity for its initial transformative image of signing oneself with the cross.

THE UNSANCTIONED CRUSADES AND TAKING THE CROSS

Sir Isumbras draws its narrative power as a crusading romance from the historical context of Christian military failure in the East and of popular crusade movements for recovery in the West. The crusade movements of 1309 and 1320 have been given various names by historians – the "Peasants' Crusades," the "Crusades of the Poor," and the "Shepherds' Crusades" – in order to designate their unofficial status and unusual composition. So as to avoid the pejorative tone frequently taken by medieval chroniclers, who labored to distance the upper class and themselves from these movements by calling them a "people without a head," "parasites," "a terrible plague," and a "madness," I shall simply refer to them individually by their dates or collectively as the unsanctioned crusades.⁴⁷ As Sylvia Schein describes, the 1309 movement was "a formidable multitude, said to be 30,000 strong ... mainly from Germany and England, [that] finally gathered in Avignon," while clerical "chroniclers looked with disfavour on those who took the Cross without the authorization of the Church."⁴⁸ By comparison, according to Malcolm Barber, the 1320 movement was comprised of "bands of 'shepherds and simple men'" who "began to gather, proclaiming their wish to fight the enemies of the faith and in this way repossess the Holy Land for the Christians."⁴⁹ Together the unsanctioned crusades were locally organized movements containing participants from the lower social classes with few knights and no great lords. They originated in the northern parts of Europe – England, Flanders, northern France, and Germany – and traveled south to the pope at Avignon and to the Italian ports that would provide passage to the Holy Land. In one respect, the unsanctioned crusades belong to a historical tradition of popular crusade movements dating back to the First Crusade, when the so-called People's Crusade, led by Peter the Hermit, was massacred on its way to Jerusalem.

In another respect, the movements of 1309 and 1320 demonstrate the continued appeal of the crusade to the Holy Land after the fall of Acre in 1291; moreover, the anti-institutional and anti-clerical stance of these movements reveals a popular reaction quite different from the crusading zeal that inspired the People's Crusade.⁵⁰ While the unsanctioned crusades were marked by terrible anti-Jewish violence and ultimately failed to travel beyond Western Europe, they display dissatisfaction with the direction of the crusade effort through their rejection of clerical rituals for the adoption of the cross and their commitment to mendicancy. In this way the unsanctioned crusades shed light upon the kind of crusading depicted in *Sir Isumbras*, since Isumbras, like the participants in these movements, adopts the cross without clerical ritual and begs his way across Europe to the Holy Land. These movements' reappropriation of sanctioned crusading practices expresses a desire for crusade reform, as implicit in the participants' actions was the idea that God had inspired them directly and that faith and purity – not warhorses and taxes – would recover the Holy Land from the infidel. Most importantly, the unsanctioned crusades reaffirm that the notion and practices of crusading permeated the lives of the general populace and that they continued to stimulate the imagination and social behavior of early fourteenth-century England.

The 1309 movement drew upon but adapted the transformative potential of the cross in crusade discourse by offering a different model for a crusader to take the cross. Responding to the papal proclamation and preaching of the Hospitaller crusade of that year, the 1309 movement is described in one source, the Franciscan annals of Ghent, as affecting a large area of Europe: "innumerabiles vulgares de terra Anglie, Picardie, Flandrie, Brabantie, Alemannie se ipsos sine prelatorum consilio cruce signantes, ut terram sanctam conquirent, versus curiam Romanam ... profecti sunt" [countless common people from England, Picardy, Flanders, Brabant, (and) Germany set out towards the Roman curia, signing themselves with the cross without the advice of clerics, so that they could acquire the Holy Land].⁵¹ The participants' adoption of the cross without clerical mediation receives particular attention from the chronicler, and for him becomes an indication of their low status and lack of judgment.⁵² Nonetheless, their taking the cross independently elucidates a peculiar feature of the ecclesiastical crusade institution: despite the centrality of the cross as the symbol of crusading, there is no evidence that the rite of taking the cross had a standard form prior to the end of the twelfth century. Before this time, crusaders were classed as a species of pilgrim, and the liturgical rite of taking

the cross was essentially a codicil to the rite of assuming scrip and staff, the pilgrim's traditional symbols.⁵³ It was only at the end of the twelfth century that a separate Latin term, "*crucesignati*" [those signed with the cross], was coined to designate crusaders, and that liturgical rites specifically for assuming the cross appear in England and on the continent.⁵⁴ The adoption of the cross without ecclesiastical support or ritual by the participants in the 1309 movement shows that even a century after the existence of formal liturgical ritual, crusading practices remained open and susceptible to contestation. This feature, rather than exhibiting a fundamental weakness in crusading, arguably contributed to its persistence in medieval culture long after the possibility of recovering the Holy Land had faded.

The 1309 movement's significance lay in its diverse composition, its partial success, and its contribution to crusade discourse, all of which constituted a challenge to crusading authority. This movement was not only terribly frightening to political authorities, just as the more often discussed Peasants' Revolt of 1381 in England was, but it also certainly contained burghers, knights, and other lesser nobles in addition to the mass of "pauperes" and "agricultores" that chroniclers so scornfully described.⁵⁵ Yet for all the chroniclers' disparagement – Ptolemy of Lucca, for instance, said the participants were forced to returned to their lands "*cum scandalo multo*" [with great scandal] after the Hospitallers rejected their help, while the anonymous annals of Lübeck mockingly commented "*sic evanuit illa expeditio*" [thus that crusade vanished] – the 1309 movement in a sense succeeded in becoming an "official," ecclesiastically approved crusade, since the pope issued indulgences to all those who had gathered at Avignon, even though few ever traveled beyond the shores of Western Europe.⁵⁶ As an alternative practice of crusading with a heterogeneous composition, the 1309 movement demonstrated the considerable effect of crusade propaganda across social levels – in other words, it demonstrated that the lower classes remained receptive to the aims of crusading and to the recovery of the Holy Land. In addition, the movement also contributed to crusade discourse by establishing a functional alternative to the *topos* of becoming a crusader through ecclesiastical ritual or at a preacher's sermon. The example of the 1309 participants signing themselves with the cross implicitly contrasted the ornate cross-taking ceremonies of kings and nobles and their subsequent inaction with the dynamism resulting from assuming the cross outside ecclesiastical authority. In this fashion a distinct crusading *topos* – what I label the self-signed crusader – was effectively created and associated with a spirit of reform.

It is through the example of this crusading *topos*, one that was revisited and reinforced by the participants of the 1320 movement, that the 1309 movement most directly influenced English literary imagination. *Sir Isumbras* draws on the behavior of the participants in the 1309 movement to represent its protagonist as a particular version of the crusader; in so doing the poem appeals to a similarly heterogeneous audience despite its focus on a “ryche” (13) and “curteys” (16) knight. After losing his worldly possessions and, tellingly, his lofty social status because of his sin, Isumbras declares his intention to “seke God wher he was quykke and dede, / That for us shedde his blode ... He sende us our lyves fode” (134–8), and then immediately adopts the cross himself: “With his knyfe he share / A crosse on his sholder bare” (139–40). In a few brief lines Isumbras declares that the goal of his journey is the Holy Land, that his method of subsistence will be charity (i.e., “He sende us our lyves fode”), and powerfully rejects established rituals for taking the cross by slicing it into his own shoulder. For *Sir Isumbras*, then, the 1309 movement was not an ephemeral flare-up of crusading zeal enacted by the ignorant, as medieval chroniclers claimed; instead it represented an attempt at crusade reform and activity that was accessible to the general populace and that offered an explanation for the repeated failures of crusade leaders and rich knights to recover the Holy Land.

The 1309 movement’s rejection of ritual and empty pomp was invoked and elaborated in the similar movement of 1320, whose participants – mainly French, but including some Englishmen – sought to recover the Holy Land dressed as simple pilgrims or shepherds.⁵⁷ Having claimed divine inspiration, this socially diverse group first attempted to motivate the French king to lead them on crusade and, when this attempt failed, they turned south to the Mediterranean ports. What distinguishes the movement of 1320 is the participants’ attire:

[T]hey carried the traditional badges of the pilgrim, the staff and the scrip, they wore crosses on their clothing and carried banners bearing the sign of the cross ... It seems to have been largely a movement of the poor, although the fines suggest some participation of other social groups ... and to have included not only boy shepherds but all ages and both sexes.⁵⁸

As a group of crusaders, the 1320 participants, unlike in 1309, specifically chose to dress as pilgrims rather than as warriors.⁵⁹ As a result, in addition to reinforcing the *topos* of signing oneself with the cross as a part of crusade discourse, the 1320 movement added another feature to that image of the crusader: his simple pilgrim attire. It is true that crusading

had been associated with a long history of Christian pilgrimage, and that there is little novelty in the participants' attire in 1320; however, assuming this dress in 1320 as part of a mass movement conveys a different political meaning from doing so in the eleventh century. In the fourteenth century this attire would express dissent from crusade leaders' view of the appropriate nature of holy warfare, since they favored small, professional armies drawn from the military orders and supplemented with mercenaries over a large but zealous group.⁶⁰ One may generally conclude that the participants believed their simple, nonmilitant attire to be essential to their purity and hence, to their ability to recover the Holy Land with God's assistance.

This emphasis on simple purity and crusade reform in the movement of 1320, as in 1309, had a darker side as well, for the participants attacked, killed, or forcibly converted Jews along their route. This harsh attitude of forced conversion or death for the non-believer, while having a notable precedent in the massacres of European Jews during the First Crusade, nonetheless owes much to the particular circumstances of the fourteenth century, and thus provides evidence for assessing the comparably severe attitudes towards conversion found in *Richard Cœur de Lion*, discussed in the previous chapter, and in *Sir Isumbras*.⁶¹ David Nirenberg has argued that the persecution in 1320 was not wholly an irrational, hysterical act that occurred because the Jews were the only non-Christians at hand. Instead, noting the participants' storming of prisons and assaults on royal castles, Nirenberg finds that their actions were "a consequence of the hypocrisy of the royal court's religious discourse centered on the idea of Crusade" and of the expansion of royal taxation through Jewish moneylenders, so that violence against the Jews was also a rebellious attack on "a much-resented aspect of administrative kingship" that claimed crusading loans and taxes as its prerogative but failed to act.⁶² In this sense, then, the participants' adaptation of crusading practices allowed them to defy – at least briefly – ecclesiastical and royal policies and their view of how crusading should function.

Some of this conflict over the control and manner of crusading is evident in the way the contemporary chronicles condemn the 1320 movement by ascribing other motivations to its supposedly pious actions. For example, Bernard Gui (c. 1261–1331), the Dominican inquisitor, described the movement's short-lived support as created solely by hypocrisy and lies:

Subito ... insurrexit quedam congregatio hominum simplicium promiscui sexus, qui se Pastorellos vocare ceperunt, confingentes se zelum habere et animum

transfretandi ad recuperandum Terram Sanctam, nullum habentes super se ducem aut principem nec aliquem navigii apparatus ... euntesque ibant de loco ad locum, petentes sibi prestari subsidium sub specie pietatis, arte et genere mendicandi; et dabantur eis victualia habundanter.⁶³

Suddenly ... a certain gathering of simple people of both sexes rose up, who began to call themselves Little Shepherds, pretending that they had zeal and spirit for crossing the sea to recover the Holy Land, though they had no leader or prince above them or any preparation of ships ... and they, while proceeding, were going from place to place, seeking that aid be granted to them under the appearance of piety, by the art and kind of beggars; and provisions were given to them abundantly.

Bernard's openly hostile account represents the participants' pretense of piety as at best knowingly manipulative and at worst simply malicious, as they were soon joined by those "velamen querentes malitie libertatem" [seeking liberty as a cloak for wickedness], but it also reveals that their stated goal was the recovery of the Holy Land and that their method of subsistence was begging, which is how Isumbras and his family survive as they journey toward the Mediterranean and what Isumbras continues to do when he arrives in the Holy Land.⁶⁴

In addition to their manner of travel, the participants' forced conversion of Jews also constitutes another parallel to the poem. For Bernard, this behavior is a calculated attempt to win further popular support: "Et ut eorum favor amplius cresceret in populo, et zelus aliquantulum appareret, communem fecerunt vocem ut omnes Judei, ubicumque reperirentur, qui nollent baptizari, interficerentur ab eis, nullo alio iudicio preeunte" [And so that their favor might grow greater among the people, and their zeal might be evident in some way, they made a public decree that all Jews, wherever they might be found, who did not want to be baptized, would be killed by them, with no other judgment preceding].⁶⁵ Although the only non-believers depicted in *Sir Isumbras* are Muslims, not Jews, the poem's approach to conversion is remarkably similar, as shown when Isumbras and his sons forcibly convert the inhabitants of three Saracen kingdoms. Indeed, in one later manuscript of the poem, the text expands upon Isumbras's initial proclamation of Christianity in his own kingdom, clarifying that the choice there is also one of conversion or death:

And [he] cummandded that yche baron bolde
Ryche and pore, yong and olde,
That thei Cryston schull be.
And all that wold not see

He badde that men schuld them sloo
 That no thyng for them schuld goo
 Neder golde nor fee.⁶⁶

Echoing the 1320 movement's decree that no other judgment would take precedence over conversion or death, Isumbras's command expressly denies the power of "golde" and "fee" – items certainly possessed by the knights, nobles, and clerics – to divert religious fervor. In this respect, the attack on royal finance and authority over crusading activity via the Jews by the 1320 movement suggests that literary depictions of forced conversion are not necessarily just the reflection of irrational zeal among the lower classes; rather, they too may diverge deliberately and rebelliously from the crusading practices of the elite in an attempt to link religious purity to other methods for recapturing the Holy Land, such as the inclusion of all classes in crusading forces or the forced conversion of non-believers.

In fact, the relationship implied in the 1320 movement among dress, purity, and a successful crusade finds literary expression in *Sir Isumbras* when Isumbras refuses to return to his knightly status when the opportunity arises. After begging his way across Europe, defeating the invading sultan in battle, and saving the Christian army, Isumbras rejects an offer of knighthood from the Christian king. Though he had fashioned and worn the armor of a knight in order to fight in the battle, Isumbras abandons this garb, ignores the king's offer, and instead "purveyde scryppe and pyke / And dyghte hym a palmere lyke" (493–4) to continue alone on to the Holy Land, where he will eventually recover kingdoms from the Saracens.⁶⁷ Here *Sir Isumbras* takes up the idea expressed in the 1320 movement that faith, purity, and simplicity, wrapped in a pilgrim's clothes, could recover the Holy Land when rich kings and knights could not, since in addition to dressing like that movement's participants, Isumbras journeys to Jerusalem to absolve himself, to complete his "penaunce" (514) and to "fulfyller Goddes werke" (515). Moreover, Isumbras appears to share the social status mentality of the 1320 movement, as he declares before the king that he is no knight but is a "smythes manne" (467). According to the poem's narrative argument, it is Isumbras's decision to travel to Jerusalem not as a knight, although he had proven his ability to manufacture and use arms, but as an individual crusading pilgrim, that allows him to recover his wife and acquire dominion in the East.

Both the unsanctioned crusades and *Sir Isumbras* depict crusaders operating outside of the ecclesiastical machinery that was well in place by the fourteenth century, and in so doing both implicitly set the power of

forgiveness and the power to assign crusader status into the hands of God rather than into the hands of his ministers on earth. To some degree this boldness resulted from the mismanagement of taxes and propaganda by crusade leaders, for, as Malcolm Barber notes, "Hardly a year had passed since 1312 ... when there had not been some attempt to incite enthusiasm for the crusade, but the chief consequence for most people had been an increase in financial burdens, not the joyous liberation of Outremer."⁶⁸ The basic ideas expressed by the unsanctioned crusades – that the sin of the upper class had caused the loss of the Holy Land, that a new image of the crusader was necessary for its recovery, and that, above all, something should be done – were as relevant to *Sir Isumbras* in the 1330s as they were in 1309 and 1320. Caught between the idea of the transfiguring power of adopting the cross and the diminishing use of *crucesignati* in the crusade effort for any purpose besides financial donations, *Sir Isumbras*, responding to these popular movements, is able to imagine the reconquest of the Holy Land by a self-signed crusader, but does not envision this success as deriving from the sanction of ecclesiastical authorities.

To sum up, the 1309 and 1320 movements are valuable in their own right as social history because they reveal the interest and participation of Englishmen in fourteenth-century crusading activity. The unsanctioned crusades also help us to remove some of our own misconceptions about the unity of crusading so that we can better comprehend the issues at stake in images of the crusade and the crusader and how this political thought was portrayed and scrutinized in literary works. *Sir Isumbras's* portrayal of a successful, solitary crusader derives much of its affective strength from the critical activism of these movements, which refused to accept the inaction of crusade leaders or their definition of what a crusade should be.

INDICTMENTS OF KNIGHTS: THE CALL FOR REFORM IN CHRONICLES OF ACRE'S FALL

As we have seen, *Sir Isumbras* draws upon the unsanctioned crusades' reappropriation of "official" crusading practices for its image of a crusader, but in contrast to these movements the poem recounts the tale of a prosperous, self-satisfied knight, not that of a merchant or peasant. Through this choice the poem signals that Isumbras's unorthodox adoption of the cross is directed specifically toward the reform of knighthood, and intimates how Isumbras's suffering should be interpreted. On a basic level, his taking of the cross marks a shift in narrative expectation, since evaluation of Isumbras's achievements will depend not upon his knightly

"curtesye" (28), but upon his personal atonement and the expansion of "Cristendome" (721). That is, Isumbras's adoption of the cross determines and confirms the narrative arc of the story – a pattern preached in virtually all the model crusade sermons still extant – by moving from apparent accomplishment, to loss and hardship, to true and lasting recovery. On a more subtle level, Isumbras's method of assuming the cross – carving it into his shoulder with a knife rather than wearing a cross of cloth – exceeds the heightened, ardent interest of the unsanctioned crusades in the Holy Land, and demonstrates Isumbras's permanent commitment to his new role since it would be impossible to remove this sign. This commitment and the selection of a knight as the poem's object of reform demonstrate how *Sir Isumbras* incorporates political concerns beyond the aims of the unsanctioned crusades since these movements, despite their subversive practices, did not directly address the role of knights in Christian society. By depicting its knightly protagonist as unable to remove his cross or to cease being a crusader, *Sir Isumbras* – a poem possibly written by a minor cleric, according to some scholars, and aimed at an audience including merchants and other non-nobles – participates in the increasing attempts within popular culture, such as in chronicles and apologetic treatises, to explain the loss of the Holy Land and to portray an ideal knighthood.⁶⁹

These chronicle accounts, which appeared swiftly after the fall of Acre in 1291 and circulated throughout England and the continent, expressly critiqued the activities of knights and other Christian leaders, lamented the fate of the poor, and emphasized the particular value of the city of Acre for a new crusade project.⁷⁰ In keeping with a broad interest in and awareness of the matter of the Holy Land among all social levels (through sermons and letters read out to the people via the clergy or royal ministers), these accounts would have reached a large audience and could have influenced the author of *Sir Isumbras*.⁷¹ One anonymous account, known as the "*De excidio*" or, as I refer to it here, the *Excidium Aconis* [Destruction of Acre], survives in numerous manuscripts and enjoyed a "wide circulation especially in France and in England," particularly as it was quickly translated into Old French and even appended in some cases to William of Tyre's history of Outremer; the *Excidium* was most likely intended for a mixed audience, as it indicts the rich and, atypically, assumes the viewpoint of the poor.⁷² However, the *Excidium* still emphasizes the importance of this occurrence for all Christians:

The events that occurred ... most recently in the most noble city of Acre ... must be mourned by the lamentable roaring of the faithful, [but] the siege itself must be retold in order above all to excite the faithful, so that they may be moved

piously to avenge such great injuries inflicted to Christ's disgrace on the Holy Land.⁷³

Another account by Thadeus of Naples, the *Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et totius Terre Sancte* [History of the ruin and oppression of the city of Acre and the entire Holy Land], hereafter the *Ystoria*, is highly rhetorical and aristocratic, though it concludes by appealing to all of Christendom to take up arms for the recovery of the Holy Land and, in some manuscripts, is attached to the popular crusade chronicle *Historia orientalis* by James of Vitry.⁷⁴ Urging profound change in knights' behavior, these chronicles of the East seized upon an instance of extreme loss – the complete destruction of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem – and used it to demonstrate a loss of direction and identity in crusade leaders. This argumentative elision relies upon the complex signifying potential of the cross in crusade discourse, which Gilbert of Tournai (c. 1200–84) explained thus in a model crusade sermon: “Crux enim bene *signum* dicitur, quia se offert sensui et aliud representat intellectui. Est etiam signum directivum, discretivum, rememorativum, remunerativum” [The cross is aptly called a *sign*, because it offers itself to the senses and represents something else to the mind. For it is a sign of direction, distinction, recollection (and) reward].⁷⁵ The chroniclers identify the loss of Acre, protected by “paucos defensores” [few defenders] and crusaders “numero pauci” [few in number], as a sign of the spiritual deficiency of the upper class; accordingly, the chroniclers stress the directional and recollective aspects of the crusader's cross, which shows where knights ought to go (i.e., to the Holy Land) and recalls what their true purpose is (i.e., to fight and die in Christ's service).⁷⁶ An examination of these texts situates *Sir Isumbras* within a wider context of political thought and suggests why the poem approaches the crusade through a story about a courteous knight who, when confronted with his own sin, assumes the cross so drastically. Furthermore, these chronicles of Acre's fall elucidate how Isumbras's experience as a poor laborer and the poem's geographical markers fit within a larger discussion in crusade discourse about reforming a knight into a committed crusader.

The chronicle accounts of Acre's fall had the unenviable task of impressing on the hearts of Christendom the deplorable, dire conquest of the last major Christian stronghold in Syria while still reassuring their audience that God had not abandoned them. The pessimism of these accounts was partly assuaged by their censure of crusade leaders, specifically the pope, Christian princes, and the military orders – particularly the Templars,

who would come under direct attack in 1307 and be formally dissolved in 1314 – whose failures could exculpate the body of the faithful. Yet even the chroniclers' most vituperative accusations still urged crusade reform, not the complete rejection of the enterprise or its leaders because, as Thadeus of Naples put it, "credamus firmiter ad castigacionem et emendacionem quidem nostram et non ad ... interitum evenisse" [we must believe steadfastly that (the loss of the Holy Land) has occurred for our chastisement and correction, and not for ... our destruction].⁷⁷ In other words, the loss of Acre provided an opportunity, however grim, for re-examining the behavior of the ruling classes and, in some cases, for broad speculation on social conditions.

Both the *Excidium* and the *Ystoria* combine their historical details about the siege of Acre with a broader interpretative framework about the causes and meaning of events deriving from Christian allegory or eschatology, and, though the extent of this interpretation varies in each text, they thus are able to connect their praise or blame of individuals' conduct with the state of Christian society in general. In one notable instance, the *Excidium* specifically mentions the presence of Otho de Grandson at Acre, thereby demonstrating the text's general awareness of what I have called individual crusading practices. However, according to the *Excidium*, despite his role as one of the main leaders during the siege, Otho did not acquit himself well. In fact, the chronicler accuses Otho and Jean de Grailly, another Savoyard knight who was the captain of the French king's forces at Acre, of shamefully abandoning the city's people:

Iohannes de Grilliaco ... et Oto de Grandisono ... suas relinquentes custodias, cum quibusdam se gerentibus generosos, integris armaturis, in rei principio ad mare fugientes, actus militares turpiter abnegantes caritatisque terminos inhumaniter exeundo naviculam concenderunt.⁷⁸

Jean de Grailly ... and Otho de Grandson ... abandoned their guard posts, for although they bore themselves as nobles, in the beginning of the attack they fled to the sea with intact armor, basely denying military deeds; and they withdrew from the boundaries of charity by brutally departing to their ship.

In addition to marking an English presence at the siege and making an English knight appear cowardly, the *Excidium*'s discussion of Otho moves from his historical flight to a symbolic, ethical meaning. That is, the flight of Otho and Jean, while belying their appearance as noble knights, is also described as a departure from "caritas" [charity], since they abandoned the city's inhabitants to the Saracens.⁷⁹ Presumably Otho would have explained the events at Acre differently, but through the *Excidium*'s

account he became an example of the failures of the upper class to which the unsanctioned crusades of 1309 and 1320 responded, for although Otho did physically go on crusade to the Holy Land, according to the text his spiritual values were lacking, an attribute which is presented as contributing to the quick capture of the city.

The *Excidium's* willingness to censure Christian knights not only for failing to protect Acre in sufficient numbers but also for failing to perform their given social role as warriors and crusaders when present culminates in a lengthy invective against powerful Christian leaders everywhere. In a salient passage, the indictment of the ruling classes is combined with concern for the poor, who suffer for their leaders' misdeeds:

Luge, Syon filia, propter tibi dilectam civitatem Aconis, nec taceant tuorum pupille oculorum. Luge, Syon filia, tibi presidentes in necessariis rectores, tam summum pontificem et cardinales cum aliis ecclesie prelati et clero quam reges et principes, barones et milites christianos, dicentes se nobiles generosos, in valle non lacrimarum sed deliciis peccatorum effluenti dormientes, qui solam civitatem populo plenam christiano quasi in vasta solitudine sicut ovem inter lupos reliquerunt indefensam. Hii sunt qui dormitantes ascenderunt equos in superbia et abusione, inopia civitatis Aconis et tribulationis eius obliviscentes. Alii scilicet, sue glorie ponpatice fastigium ac in omnibus vaniflue ostentantes, qui dei ecclesiam in devotione ac spiritu humilitatis regere deberent, in cathedris pestilencie et sedibus iniquitatis sedentes non solum bona Crucifixi, que in piis usibus deberent expendi, ad sui generis extollenciam <expendunt>, turres elevant, aulas edificant et simmas picturarum varietate preciosarum exornant, sed propter hoc multifarie multisque modis a pauperibus substantiam, in que eorum vita consistit, per fas et per nefas extorquere nituntur.⁸⁰

Mourn, daughter of Zion, for your beloved city of Acre, and do not cease your weeping. Mourn, daughter of Zion, for your rectors presiding in [priestly] duties, both for the supreme pontiff and the cardinals with the other prelates in the church and the clergy, and for your kings and princes, the barons and Christian knights, who call themselves high-born nobles, who sleep in a valley not of tears but one flowing with the delights of sins, who abandoned this city full of Christian people and left it alone, as in a desolate solitude, just as a defenseless lamb among wolves. These men are the ones who, while sleeping, climb up on their horses in pride and contempt and forget the need of the city of Acre and its trials. The others [i.e., the clergy], while showing the height of their glory openly and their vanity in all things, sit in pulpits of pestilence and seats of iniquity; these, who ought to rule the church of God in devotion and humble spirit, not only spend the goods of the Crucified One for the pride of their kind, which they ought to spend in pious uses, but they raise towers, they build temples, and they adorn the walls with a variety of precious pictures. On account of this pride at various times and in many ways they strive to extort goods from the poor, in which their [i.e., poor people's] livelihood stands, by legal and illegal means.

In this rhetorically weighty section, clerics and knights alike are blamed for their pride, vanity, and sinfulness, particularly in how each group spends the goods provided by the labor of the poor, though the "poor" here presumably includes the merchants and minor clerics who were repeatedly called upon to supply funds for crusade projects that never happened, in addition to those of more humble means. The clergy, including the pope himself, are accused of spending the "bona Crucifixi" on frivolous things instead of the defense of Christians, while the knights and secular leaders are accused of "sleeping" and of "forgetting" to perform their duty to fight and defend the faithful. Instead the knights ride about in pride and vanity, "cursibus quasi continuis post feras insistendo cum canibus, tota die cornicinantes, ut vilem capiant suem aut cervulum scabiosum ... sui principatus gubernacula in sui culminis vilipensionem negligendo" [running almost continually after wild beasts, pursuing them with hounds, blowing their horns all day, so that they may capture a worthless boar or scruffy fawn ... (while) neglecting the government of their dominion in contempt of their own high status].⁸¹ The *Excidium* specifically links the delight of the upper class in hunting to a spiritual dormancy that encourages the abuse of the poor, removes the ability to govern properly, and causes knights to forget their duty to go on crusade against the infidel. Though these accusations are unoriginal, there is a particular relevance for the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in the author's criticism of those secular rulers who

simulantes cordi habere dei negocium et eius iniurias vindicare se iactantes, pecunias congregant, argentum et aurum thesaurisant, a subiectis et sibi subditis pauperibus ecclesiis petitionibus violentis extorquendo ... ut regna et principatus sibi vicinos violententer rapiant.⁸²

while pretending to have the business of God [i.e., crusading] in their heart and boasting that they will avenge his injuries, gather up money [and] silver and gold, which must be extorted from their subjects and poor servants by violent petitions to the churches ... so that they may violently seize neighboring realms and principalities for themselves.

Demonstrating considerable awareness of the exploitative practices that crusade leaders could employ while the Holy Land was slipping away, the chronicler's unflattering depiction of knights and clergy highlights the suffering of the poor from repeated crusading taxes and the suffering of Christendom from internal wars in order to link the reform of aristocratic values directly to the recovery of the Holy Land.

Thadeus of Naples's *Ystoria* on the whole adopts a similar view of Acre's fall, finding that Christendom's "peccatis exigentibus" [exacting

sins] are primarily responsible for the loss of what he calls the “patrimonium Salvatoris” [patrimony of the Savior].⁸³ However, in contrast to the *Excidium*’s unusual concern for the poor in its direct attack on knights and the clergy, Thadeus’s text is characterized by a more pervasive use of allegorical interpretation, evident in his numerous biblical allusions and his borrowings from the mystic Joachim of Fiore. Because of this different approach, the *Ystoria* focuses more heavily on elaborate descriptions of the disgrace caused by the suffering of fellow Christians at Acre and on the need for penitential action by Christians in general, so that whereas the *Excidium* culminated in excoriation, the *Ystoria* concludes in exhortation, with several “exclamations” [cries] to the pope, to Christian kings, and to all Christian people. The text’s use of Acre’s destruction as a means to shame Christians in Europe into action is apparent from the very beginning of the *Ystoria*, where Thadeus portrays the “clamor” [cry] of those at the siege reaching the ears of those in the West:

Clamor namque multus et validus populorum fidelium ... orbi nuper intonuit universo et vox fusi sanguinis christiani, de exercituum domini manu vindictam exquiens et incessanter petens perpetrati et a seculo inauditi flagicii ultionem ... ascendit ... et in aures Christi vicarii orthodoxorumque huius seculi principum ... introivit.⁸⁴

For a great and powerful cry of the faithful people ... recently thundered across the entire earth; and the voice of spilled Christian blood arose, seeking vengeance from the hand of the armies of the lord and unceasingly begging that revenge for a shame unheard of by the world be done ... and [this voice] entered into the ears of the orthodox vicar of Christ and the princes of this world.

While not openly blaming Christian rulers and the pope for the loss of the Holy Land, Thadeus’s ornate image of the “voice of spilled blood” demanding revenge and entering rulers’ ears leaves little room for doubt regarding the desired response. Moreover, though this “clamor” is calamitous, announcing an event previously “unheard of,” the *Ystoria* stresses that the fall of Acre is an opportunity to distinguish the faithful, for in a direct address to the personified Holy Land, Thadeus explains, “Non ergo mirari debet Christicola, nec a tue devotionis fervore frigescere, si sic a te ingratos eicis tuos heredes vel filios, solo vocabulo Christianos” [Therefore the worshipper of Christ ought not to wonder, nor become cold in fervor of your devotion, if thus you cast out from you your ungrateful heirs and children, Christians in name alone].⁸⁵ Locating this loss of the Holy Land firmly within a cycle of loss and recovery that depends on the ethical behavior of believers and stretches back to early biblical history, Thadeus’s chronicle continues to apply the vocabulary

of family inheritance to separate the true from the nominal Christians and to urge their continued religious devotion. This devotion, according to the *Ystoria*, is best demonstrated by turning lamentation into penitential action, which Thadeus describes in an address to "vos fideles populi" [you faithful people] as:

Cur, qui inter vos bella committere didicistis, non eodem modo Christi resistitis hostibus et prelia instauratis ac geritis contra perfidos Sarracenos? ... enim est ad ... nostrum ad penitencie arma et corporalia etiam ... contra fidei hostes precipue concite preparare ... [S]i vero spiritualia arma negligimus, nostra impie culpa perimus. Advertamus itaque, dum tempus habemus.⁸⁶

You who learned to engage in wars among yourselves, why did you not resist the enemies of Christ and renew and wage wars in the same way against the treacherous Saracens? ... For it is our [role] to prepare ... the bodily arms of penitence against the enemies of the faith extraordinarily swiftly ... If we neglect spiritual arms, we perish wickedly by our sin. Let us attend [to this], therefore, while we have time.

Though echoing a similar complaint about misspent wars against fellow Christians in the *Excidium*, Thadeus's text nonetheless primarily concentrates on encouraging action at all social levels and on personal reform and salvation through penitential crusading combat, especially through his linking of corporal and spiritual arms. While overall the authors of both chronicles advocate comparable responses to 1291, they each criticize different aspects of late medieval society, namely the pride of knights and clergy as well as their exploitation of the poor in the *Excidium* and the general need for vengeance and individual spiritual reform in the *Ystoria*.

Sir Isumbras's engagement with the criticism expressed in these chronicles reveals how the poem exists within a community of crusade discourse that arose after the fall of Acre and flourished outside the ecclesiastical institution. Although there is no hint of the clergy in the text of *Sir Isumbras*, Isumbras himself, a knight whose sin is specified as "pryde" (37), embodies the chroniclers' complaints about knights' failure to remember their duties and to go on crusade, since Isumbras receives God's "stevenne" (42) of warning and chastisement for disregarding him, is accosted by God's messenger while riding in his forest to "play" (44), and is told that "Thow haste *foryete* what thou was" (50, my emphasis). The identification of Isumbras's sin as pride and the specific accusation that he has forgotten his purpose as a knight recall the condemnation of the upper class expressed in the *Excidium*; moreover, the fact that Isumbras received his divine chastisement when he was out hunting corresponds neatly to

that text's derision for knights' current activities. As the poem relates, Isumbras's steed dies and his "hawkes and his howndes bothe / Ronne to wode as they were wrothe ... To peyne turned his pleye" (73–8) following the departure of the divine messenger. Until Isumbras learns the proper function of knights, the poem implies, his hunting days are over. Indeed, only after the angel forgives Isumbras in Jerusalem – that is, when he has effectively completed his crusade vow – is he again able to "play" as a knight at his wife's castle in the East.⁸⁷ This narrative progression from play to pain and back to play illustrates the potency of the theme of loss and recovery in crusade discourse, since the poem mirrors the cyclical loss and recovery of the Holy Land described by the chroniclers in its protagonist's loss and recovery of knightly status, signaled by leisure pursuits and wealth.⁸⁸

Nevertheless, neither the chroniclers' use of the theme of loss and recovery nor Isumbras's reaccession to knighthood implies a circular return to the status quo. Just as the chroniclers' excoriations were aimed at the reform of knights in order to recover the Holy Land, so, too, Isumbras's "recovery" of his knightly status at the end of the poem represents a restoration of knights' proper function, not a return to his "slumbering" behavior from the poem's beginning. In other words, *Sir Isumbras* aligns its protagonist's social recovery with the political recovery of the Holy Land in order to critique and celebrate knighthood for a mixed audience; only through his penitential experience as one of the poor, common people does Isumbras learn – or, as Gilbert of Tournai put it, recollect – what it means to be a knight.⁸⁹ After losing his wife, children, and money, Isumbras first becomes a laborer at a smithy bearing stone and then takes "mannes hyre" (401), learning to craft all the armor that "fell for a knyghte, / To batell whenn he sholde go" (407–8). The seven years Isumbras spends at the smithy teach him about the "mykyll wo" (399) that goes into crafting the armor which he, as a knight, should be using to defend Christians against their enemies, but it also teaches him about the suffering of the poor, since the smiths are too impoverished to give him "som mete for charite" (388) and tell him that he must "swynke as don we" (389) to earn his food. It is quite true that the text does not portray an internal dimension to Isumbras, nor does it propose to its mixed audience of knights and merchants that knights should lose their higher status in medieval society. However, after his work with the smiths and, in contrast to Otho de Grandson's "uncharitable" flight from Acre, after his defeat of the sultan, Isumbras startlingly declares to the Christian king not that he is a knight but that "I am a smythes manne; / Byholde and thou may se

with syghthe" (467–8), suggesting that Isumbras has transformed and to some extent identifies with the lower classes.

Isumbras's labor at the smithy and his years as a palmer begging for food not only recall Thadeus's urging of Christians to take up bodily and spiritual arms against the Saracens, but also resonate with the concern for the poor found in works such as the *Excidium*. Having fashioned his own arms and experienced the suffering of the poor in a world where crusade leaders are at best on the defensive, at worst inactive, Isumbras becomes a reformed knight at the end of the poem and continues to crusade against the infidel. Despite being crowned king of many "ryche londes" (717) and having "more welthe" (719) than ever before, Isumbras's first act is to proclaim Christianity in his kingdom, effectively starting a war with the Saracens. After defeating vast numbers through divine intervention, Isumbras then conquers three more pagan realms with the help of his sons – actions that contrast strongly with his activities at the beginning of the poem and that the chroniclers of Acre's fall would surely praise. All in all, Isumbras's time as a smith and palmer illustrates how the poem functions as a vigorous piece of social criticism; while not seriously entertaining the notion that knights should work in a smithy, the poem nonetheless advocates that its moderately wealthy audience should place the concerns of the Holy Land first and take individual action for it regardless of the material cost.

In addition to clarifying why Isumbras's reform is accomplished partly through his labor as one of the poor, the chroniclers' accounts also suggest that the poem's geographical markers – the "Grykkyssche see," "Acres," and "Jerusalem" are mentioned in certain manuscripts – belong to a larger program of crusading reform in the early fourteenth century that emphasized the directional aspect of the cross.⁹⁰ The poem's spatial markers clearly indicate where knights should be headed (i.e., to the East) and highlight the key locations (i.e., the sea crossing to Acre) deemed necessary for any recovery effort by chroniclers and treatise authors. In the two earliest full manuscripts of the poem, Isumbras journeys to the city of Acre after defeating the invading sultan. As the poem relates, Isumbras takes a ship across the Greek Sea and, "Whenne he was in Acres lente, / With very bones up he wente / And in to the cyté yede."⁹¹ One may detect a subtle irony in that Isumbras, having forgotten "what thou was," that is, a Christian taught to defend Christendom, is in turn forgotten when he himself is in the East, since after landing he cannot obtain "[m]ete ne drynke" (518) and finds no "hows to harborow inne" (519), because Acre and Jerusalem in the fourteenth century are no longer under Christian

rule. The implied contrast between the reception a Christian should receive in Acre and the unwelcoming reception Isumbras does receive confirms the poem's place in post-Acre crusade discourse. In my view, later manuscripts of the poem dispensed with the reference to Acre but still mentioned Jerusalem because by that time the significance of Acre's destruction had dissipated; Jerusalem maintained its spiritual significance as a pilgrimage destination, but Acre was no longer a viable strategic site for securing the recovery of the Holy Land. Thus, *Sir Isumbras's* reference to Acre only in early manuscripts of the poem connects it to historically specific critiques of knights in the early fourteenth century, critiques that demanded, as Thadeus said:

Exurgant demum et cuncti fideles populi ... unanimiter proficiscantur et confluant ad conculcandas Orientales gentes et Christianis semper infestas barbaras nationes, et nobile ac victoriosum fidei nostre certamen viriliter contra illos assumant ut vindicetur christianus sanguis.⁹²

And at last let all the faithful people rise up [and] set out in one spirit and flow together in order to trample the Eastern peoples and the barbarous nations always hostile to Christians, and let them manfully take up the noble and victorious struggle of our faith so that Christian bloodshed will be avenged.

Sir Isumbras, like these chroniclers, identifies the loss of Acre with the failure of knights to remember their role in defending the faith, and Isumbras's journey to Jerusalem via Acre illustrates his "recovery" of true knighthood and serves as an example for those "fideles populi" who should take action. Yet Isumbras's journey to Acre also depends upon his equally brief assumption of the cross, which was represented in crusade discourse as a directional sign indicating a topographical intention towards the East.

SIR ISUMBRAS AND THE PRIVATE CRUSADE: EASTERN DOMINION AND MARRIAGE

Sir Isumbras's interweaving of types of loss and recovery, whether derived from the chronicles or the unsanctioned crusades, shows that crusade discourse stimulated thought across genres. More significantly, it shows the synthetic capabilities of the redefined crusading romance, which could revivify the fading narrative of St. Eustace – a tale of a holy warrior set in the world of pagan Rome – and adapt it to fourteenth-century concerns in order to depict an idealized knight performing an alternative practice of individual crusading and to join exhortation for individual action with

an awareness of contemporary issues. The poem as a whole is remarkably consistent when read as the narrative of a crusader rather than as that of a troubled knight who is sometimes a pilgrim and sometimes a warrior. Isumbras's plan to travel to Jerusalem to "recollect" what he was, his self-signed adoption of the cross, his mendicancy, his refusal of knight-service from the sultan, his battle with the Saracens in European lands, his work with the smiths, and his penitential stay in Jerusalem that culminates in his remaining in the Holy Land as a ruler and conqueror all are unified by their common crusading elements. I have already discussed key episodes in relation to these issues, but two aspects of this unified narrative that merit special attention for their departure from previous crusade discourse are the idea of rightful dominion in the East, expressed paradoxically through Isumbras's utter loss of his domain in the West, and the temptation of Christian crusaders by Saracens. These concepts are most evident in those scenes that display Isumbras's contact with the Christian God and with the Saracen sultan, specifically when Isumbras encounters the divine messenger and when the sultan makes two offers to Isumbras, first of knight-service and second of buying Isumbras's wife. Altogether these scenes extend the poem's refiguring of knightly virtue by displaying the permanence of Isumbras's commitment to crusading and by justifying his conquest and ownership of only Eastern lands through divine approval and through the "*pryvy*" (321) agreement constituted between husband and wife despite her forced marriage to the sultan.

From its very beginning, the poem addresses the physical and spiritual inaction of knights through Isumbras's pride and his forgetting of God. Those failings, as Elizabeth Fowler argues, are connected to a model of feudal lordship through God's title as "*kyng of heven*" (52), Isumbras's pride in his "*fee*" (51), and the use of the term "*yelde*" (60) to show his submission.⁹³ These terms, while surely belonging to the political lexicon of lordship, were adopted by and altered in crusade discourse for the particular purpose of justifying Christian claims to dominion in the East, as is evident in an entirely commonplace crusade sermon by James of Vitry:

Dominus quidem affligitur in patrimonii sui amissione et vult amicos probare et experiri si fideles eius vasalli estis. Qui enim a domino ligio tenent feodum, si desit illi dum in pugnatur et hereditas sua illi aufertur, merito feodo privatur. Vos autem corpus et animam et quicquid habetis a summo imperatore tenetis, qui vos hodie citari facit, ut ei in prelio succuratis, et licet iure feodi non teneremini. Tanta et talia stipendia offert vobis quod sponte currere deberetis, remissionem cunctorum scilicet peccatorum quantam ad penam et culpam et insuper vitam eternam.⁹⁴

The Lord has indeed suffered the loss of his patrimony and wants to test [his] friends and find out if you are his faithful vassals. He who holds a fief from a liege lord is rightfully deprived of his fief if he abandons him, when he is involved in a war and his inheritance is taken away from him. You hold your body and soul and all that you have from the highest emperor, who has you summoned today to come to his aid in battle, even if you are not bound by feudal law. He offers you such great payment that you ought to rush willingly, namely the remission of all sins with regard to punishment and guilt, and in addition eternal life.

James's sermon combines notions of lordship, inheritance, and faithful service with the idea that an unfaithful vassal could have his lands revoked in a manner that resonates strongly with the plot of *Sir Isumbras*. That is, the divine messenger strips Isumbras's property from him, "summons" the knight to recall his true purpose, and promises future rewards; it is to this messenger that Isumbras surrenders his "sowle" (60).

Nevertheless, this idea of Christians' entitlement and rightful inheritance in the East, what Thadeus of Naples calls "terra sancta, hereditas nostra" [the Holy Land, our heritage], is transformed in the poem into the idea that true crusaders only possess lands in their true heritage, the East.⁹⁵ That is, the key difference between *Sir Isumbras* and James's sermon is that while James addresses a large group of potential crusaders whose ability to crusade would most likely depend on their continued possession of domains in the West, the poem presents a solitary man responding directly to divine correction who regains only Eastern wealth and dominion. In this respect, the poem marks a shift in crusade discourse that occurred after the fall of Acre. When fourteenth-century crusade theorists considered the many reasons for the failure of the kingdom of Jerusalem, some posited that a permanent standing army would be necessary for its defense, and that this would require crusaders to remain in the Holy Land rather than to return home after the completion of their vow.⁹⁶ This notion of a "permanent" crusade – one more analogous to the behavior of the military orders – and its consequent implications for dominion and ownership align perfectly with Isumbras's "permanent" carving of the cross in his shoulder and residence in the Holy Land until his death. It is critical, then, to understand that in the logic of the poem God does not simply restore what Isumbras has lost after he demonstrates faithful service; rather, Isumbras is rewarded with greater, proper dominion in a specific location that entails certain kinds of behavior: namely, the defeat of Saracens (747–62), the forced conversion of inhabitants (781–2), and the establishment of lineal domains (784–6).

Isumbras's success as a permanent, private crusader depends upon his commitment to that status despite many hardships. After losing his

possessions, wealth, and two of his sons, Isumbras receives an offer from the invading sultan on the shores of the "Grekys see" (197) of knight-service. In the confrontation with the sultan, this offer functions as a test of the crusading commitment that Isumbras made by carving the cross into his shoulder and departing for the Holy Land. By choosing (the Christian) God's chastising poverty over knighthood and wealth with the Saracens, Isumbras demonstrates a sense of his own sinfulness that is in keeping with criticism of the upper class in the chronicles of the East. Yet Isumbras's refusal of the offer of knight-service also addresses specific fourteenth-century concerns about the dangerous interactions of crusaders with Saracens, who were believed to be able to "buy" conversions with their great wealth. *Sir Isumbras* situates its version of religious conflict in this same context, since Isumbras encounters the Saracen sultan as he invades Christian lands in Europe. As the poem indicates, Isumbras and his family are on the western side of the "Grekys see" when they find, much to their surprise, "[a]n hethen kynge ... Come Cristendome forto wynne, / To walke so ferre and wyde" (208–10). The extended *chevauchée* of the sultan, who "all that sevens yere so longe ... with batell stronge / Stryden Cristendome full wyde" (409–11), is largely ignored by scholars as a plot device that allows the retributive battle between Isumbras and the sultan to occur.

Nonetheless, the sultan's offer of knight-service to Isumbras directly addresses the role of knights in crusading and reveals anxieties over the betrayal or defection of Christian knights in exchange for material rewards, and, through the *exemplum* established by Isumbras's refusal, it explains why Christians in general and crusaders in particular should never betray their faith. The sultan makes this offer after first having driven away Isumbras, who had approached the sultan's magnificent galley in order to beg "of hem somme lyves fode, / For his love that dyed on rode" (232–3), because Isumbras "leved not on his laye" (239). The sultan then feels pity for Isumbras and his wife, and calls them back only to have his "laye" (259) refused by Isumbras. Both the sultan and Isumbras speak of this proposed transaction in terms of taking or forsaking one's "laye," which, as Fowler notes, can mean law, religion, faith, system of government, kingdom, custom, and narrative or romance.⁹⁷ In the argument of the poem, those who have taken the cross have a special relationship to their "laye," which represents the obligation of a vassal of Christ to defend his lord and reclaim his patrimony. The crusader's cross, as Gilbert of Tournai argued, signifies a "directional" claim to dominion over territories in the East, and in the poem the cross impels the crusader to go and

to remain there not only to recover political dominion but also to recover wealth that is properly Christian.

The sultan tries to bend Isumbras's will to the riches of the world and to social status through his promise that, "Of golde schalt thou nevir have nede: / If thou be dowghty manne in dede, / Thow shalt be doobbed knyghte" (262–4), but this offer meets with Isumbras's firm response, "Schall I nevir more / Ayeyns Cristen werre, / Nor forsake my laye" (268–70). To imagine this rejection of knight-service, *Sir Isumbras* draws upon the more recent examples of the *topos* of temptation and betrayal in the recovery treatises, which proliferated after the fall of Acre and which identified the failures of Christian knights as one of the chief reasons for the continued loss of the Holy Land; the poem answers such doubts through the example of Isumbras's spiritual reform. The authors of the recovery treatises supplied examples demonstrating to fourteenth-century audiences that the betrayal of crusaders was not only possible, but also had in fact repeatedly occurred. For example, Fidenzio of Padua's firsthand knowledge of the East encouraged acceptance of his assertion that:

Est etiam aliud malum magnum valde quod plures Christiani ex Latinis qui transfretant vadunt ad Saracenos et, allecti amore diviciarum et voluptatis carnalis, fiunt Saraceni et cultum christianitatis dimittunt, et postmodum armati pugnant contra Christianos, et, ut breviter dicam, multi ex Christianis qui transfretant non sunt christianis ad profectum sed ad maximum detrimentum.⁹⁸

There is also another exceedingly great evil: that many Christians from Latin lands who go across the sea go to the Saracens and, enticed by riches and carnal pleasure, become Saracens and leave off Christian worship, and afterwards they fight armed against Christians; and, as I say briefly, many of the Christians who go across the sea do not profit Christians but act for their greatest loss.

In the recovery treatises this *topos* becomes an explanation for Christendom's repeated defeats and for the decreasing number of Christians, since rather than refusing temptation, crusaders often embrace it and fight against their former faith, much like the arrangement the sultan proposes to Isumbras. Thus, Isumbras's rejection of the sultan's offer of knight-service shows that his commitment to "nevir more ... [a]yeyns Cristen werre" is precisely what is necessary for a crusade effort to succeed, since Isumbras effectively saves the Christian king in the West, is reunited with his wife and sons, and then acquires new kingdoms in the East by not abandoning his polysemous "laye." While *Sir Isumbras's* engagement with questions of political dominion and with religious belief or constancy does ultimately fall

under the larger lexicon of lordship, the poem does so only because crusade discourse drew upon this vocabulary in order to justify its practices as reformed and proper versions of Christian knights' activities. The unity of the poem's narrative, then, depends upon our perception of its reworking of several strands in fourteenth-century crusade thought into one possible "solution" – a tale illustrating the amazing success of a knight who commits himself to God's cause, which could perhaps inspire others – to a contemporary crisis.

The sultan's first offer shows how in the early fourteenth century part of the threat of Islam was perceived to reside in its ability to appropriate and redirect the energies of Christendom back against itself through the successful temptation of crusaders. By comparison, the sultan's second offer, the purchase of Isumbras's wife to become his queen, continues to draw upon the language of rightful inheritance found in James of Vitry's sermon and in Isumbras's "laye," but also invokes an unusual idea about marriage across religions as a means of peaceable conversion and recovery of territory in the East found in one of the recovery treatises. Even though Isumbras refuses to sell his wife for "golde and fe ... And ryche robes sevenne" (278–9), the sultan commits *raptus* and takes her from him by force; according to the poem's argument, this action further justifies Isumbras's personal crusading and his inheritance of lands in the East, but simultaneously undermines the possibility of peaceful recovery.

Sir Isumbras's interest in interreligious marriage, as with the offer of knight-service, draws upon legal language of exchange and heritage.⁹⁹ The sultan proposes that Isumbras's wife "shall be crowned qwene of my lond, / And every man bowe to her hond" (280–1) while Isumbras will be rewarded monetarily. Tellingly, the two earliest manuscripts of the poem include the detail that, after seizing Isumbras's wife, the sultan ratifies his marriage to her, stressing its political legitimacy: "A chartre in the maner he bonde ... His qwene thenne scholde sche bee."¹⁰⁰ The reference to a legal charter that will certify the status of Isumbras's wife as the sultan's queen echoes a comparison made in the only surviving crusade preaching manual from England. The *Ordinacio de predicacione Sancti Crucis in Anglia* [Ordinance for preaching the holy cross in England], an anonymous preaching manual from the early thirteenth century that contains advice for preachers, offers brief explanations of Christian doctrine for the laity, and ends with what may be a model sermon punctuated by calls to the audience to take the cross. In the sermon section, the *Ordinacio* contrasts the future of most Christians, who will be seized by the devil for their sins, with that of crusaders, who will be saved if they "surge cum

vera contricione et devocione et recipias sigillum crucis super te, et eris hereditas Christi ei per crucem confirmata quasi per cartam” [rise up with true contrition and devotion and receive the sign of the cross upon you, and you will be the inheritance of Christ, having been confirmed to him through the cross as if by charter].¹⁰¹ The parallels between the *Ordinacio* and the sultan’s actions in *Sir Isumbras* are suggestive, particularly since, like the devil, the sultan “seizes” Isumbras’s wife while Isumbras, marked by the cross, escapes his grasp and eventually gains dominion in the Holy Land. However, whereas the *Ordinacio* depicts the figurative charter that will make the crusader himself become the “hereditas Christi” as coming from Jesus’ cross in a relatively unproblematic way, the poem’s literal charter that guarantees Isumbras’s wife authority over lands in Syria comes from a heathen sultan who, according to most crusade texts, has no right to them. The tremendous importance of and debates over legal charters in late medieval culture make them a particularly suitable vehicle for representing the proprietary claims – physical and spiritual – implicit in crusading, as shown through the description of pagan Livonia during the Baltic campaigns as the land or dowry of the Virgin Mary, an idea itself developed from the portrayal of the Holy Land as Jesus’ patrimony.¹⁰²

Though *Sir Isumbras* does not explicitly return to the idea of a charter when Isumbras finally acquires new dominion in the East, by depicting the sultan’s offer of marriage in this way the poem is able to stress two different points simultaneously: first, by having Isumbras refuse this second temptation of riches, the poem remains consistent in its reformatory vision of knighthood by demonstrating a crusader’s overriding commitment to recovering the Holy Land as a Christian domain; second, by having Isumbras’s wife become a queen of Saracen lands, the poem hints at a legal claim for Isumbras to be “ryghte / Crowned kynge ... Of many ryche londes thare” (715–17) even though the marriage is made without Isumbras’s or his wife’s consent. Moreover, in connecting interreligious marriage to the idea of crusading heritage, the poem parallels a curious idea discussed in one of the early fourteenth-century recovery treatises. In his *De recuperatione Terre Sancte* [On the recovery of the Holy Land] (1306), the French lawyer Pierre Dubois daringly argued that Christian women trained in special crusade schools should marry Saracen husbands in order to further the recovery effort:

Forte majoribus Saracenis quibus alii injuriantur, guerras movent, auferunt terras suas, alia bona rapiunt, poterunt dari uxores perite provisionis istius, salva fide earum, ut non communicent cum eorum ydolatria; per quas ... poterunt ad fidem catholicam induci et perducī.¹⁰³

While others are pursuing a policy of inflicting injury on the Saracens, making war upon them, seizing their lands, and plundering their other property, perhaps girls trained in the proposed schools may be given as wives to the Saracen chiefs, although preserving their faith lest they participate in their husbands' idolatry. By their efforts ... their husbands might be persuaded and led to the Catholic faith.

Dubois's special schools would train women in medicine, surgery, and writing, Eastern languages, and the articles of the Roman faith so that they might use arguments to convert their husbands and their other wives.¹⁰⁴ In contrast to Dubois's scheme, however, *Sir Isumbras* views interreligious marriage as incapable of converting Saracens. At her castle in the East, Isumbras's wife is surrounded by Saracens who abandon her and Isumbras as soon as he decrees that Christianity will be the kingdom's religion.

Though *Sir Isumbras* could have employed marriage in the service of crusading in a manner similar to what Dubois imagined, the poem has at best an uneasy relation to marriage across religions and the possibility of the peaceful conversion of the infidel. Instead, the text reaffirms the marriage between Isumbras and his wife, turning the sultan's forced marriage into another justification for Isumbras's personal crusade. After they are separated she begs to speak a "worde of pryvy thyng" (321) with him and gives him a ring as a "tokenyng" (324), which will eventually be part of their happy reunion in the East. Though one might assume that this "pryvy thyng" [private matter] would simply be a tearful farewell or a promise of continued love, it actually turns out to be a mission of vengeance and crusading conquest, for she tells Isumbras:

But in what londe that I am inne,
Fonde the thyder forto wyne:
The hethen kynge shall ye slo;
And by crowned kynge of that londe,
And evry manne bowe to your honde;
So shall ye kevere [recover] your wo.

(331–6)

Not only does his wife tell Isumbras to find her in the sultan's land, but she also tells him to kill the sultan, to "wyne" his land, and to become its king; in this manner he will recover from his grief and loss, which could simply refer to the loss of his wife, but which seems to stand for his larger loss of land, status, and children because of his sin. Moreover, it seems that Isumbras is to accomplish all these things by himself – something which, apart from some help from his wife and sons, he does. The combination of a "private" matter with a fairly direct invocation of crusading's narrative pattern of loss and recovery provides strong evidence for the

influence of individual crusading practices on English romances. Rather than representing large armies invading Syria, in one condensed scene *Sir Isumbras* deliberately aligns the “laye” [faith] (270) between sinful crusading knight and God with the “laye” (286) between husband and wife in order to imagine and to potentially encourage personal crusading action.

All in all, both of the sultan’s offers to Isumbras stress the difficult commitments necessary for the recovery of the Holy Land. Since Isumbras passes this test through losing everything, the poem persists in its theme of loss and recovery and also opens the way for Isumbras’s personal and political recovery in his kingdom in the East. In these scenes of negotiation, *Sir Isumbras* worries over the possible betrayal of crusaders and shows how Saracens attempt to convert Christians through promises and violence, but assuages these fears through Isumbras’s patient suffering and enduring commitment to the Holy Land. Additionally, the poem attempts to refashion crusader behavior into a permanent occupation of the Holy Land. The poem’s image of a crusader remaining in the East is in keeping with the proposals of the recovery treatises, several of which considered it vital to plan for the future of the recovered kingdom of Jerusalem because “non multum valet si Terra Sancta fuerit acquisita, et statim postea sit cum opprobrio derelicta” [it would not be very good if the Holy Land were acquired, and immediately afterward it were lost with great disgrace].¹⁰⁵ Taken together the crusade sermons, recovery treatises, and *Sir Isumbras* reveal how the concepts of betrayal, inheritance, and interreligious marriage were part of an ongoing dialogue about crusading that took place in a variety of texts and social actions, including the chronicles of Acre’s fall and the unsanctioned crusades.

INDIVIDUAL FORMS OF RECOVERY IN THE CRUSADING ROMANCE

From its inception crusading, even when appearing most emblematically as holy warfare, was bound up with notions of loss and recovery that extended beyond the relatively specific goal of an army recovering the Holy Places. When the Byzantine emperor Alexius I requested aid against the Turks, thereby triggering the First Crusade, his request received such strong support from Pope Urban II because it might begin to heal the Great Schism between the Catholic and Orthodox churches.¹⁰⁶ Alternatively, when poets like the *Minnesänger* or troubadours composed popular crusade songs, audiences learned to understand traditional love lyrics expressing longing for a distant love-object as an allusion to,

or allegory of, crusade doctrine or practice.¹⁰⁷ Crusading's theme of loss and recovery was reinforced by its association with the Dominican and Franciscan friars after the 1230s; these orders, founded to "recover" the pure origins of Christianity, were employed by the papacy for crusade preaching, and in this capacity they dramatically increased knowledge about the Holy Land and broadened crusading's appeal by offering the cross to anyone, rich or poor, desiring to contribute financially.¹⁰⁸ The history of English crusaders up to the fourteenth century, including Godric of Finchale, Richard of Cornwall, and especially Otho de Grandson, indicates how crusading's association with pilgrimage continued to generate a variety of practices – a variety sometimes, as in Otho's case, encompassed by one person – that fell outside of or directly opposed papal authority. In the early fourteenth century after the loss of Acre, however, the scope and hierarchy of the ecclesiastical institution could not be reconciled with that institution's evident failures. Consequently, traditional ideas were reappropriated in order to imagine new forms of recovery. We should consider English crusading practice in light of these broad influences; if, as one historian said, "Thirteenth-century Englishmen voted with their feet, only the eastern crusade attracting them in any significant numbers," the crusading practices of fourteenth-century Englishmen tallied just as strongly for the Holy Land, but they did so in ways distinct from the increasingly hierarchical papal and royal institutions that stimulated, disappointed, and excluded the populace.¹⁰⁹

Texts like *Sir Isumbras* restore our sense of the breadth of political thought in England at a time when scholars generally consider such energies to be focused almost exclusively on France and on English monarchs' continental ambitions. *Sir Isumbras*'s imagination of crusading dominion is, in certain respects, as simple and accessible as the poem itself; nevertheless, the poem's use of the new *topos* of the self-signed crusader along with contemporary issues suggests that certain romances were topically engaged despite (or perhaps because of) their abstraction and that the crusading romance encompasses more than tales of massed armies. This apparent incongruity derives from the rich tradition surrounding the idea of crusading, which, as we have seen, was expressed in the fourteenth century through mass social action, indictments of crusade leaders, and theoretical treatises that all shared a common goal and that voiced an intense desire for change. *Sir Isumbras*, participating in this larger community of discourse, represents the reform of knighthood through the conquest, forcible conversion, and foundation of new Christian kingdoms in the East. The poem reinterprets the theme of loss and recovery by depicting

alternative crusading practices. When he takes the cross outside the ostentation of ecclesiastical ritual or when he labors in the smithy to remove his sin, Isumbras rebukes the physical and spiritual inaction of knights for a popular audience, shows a permanent commitment to establishing rightful dominion over Saracen sultans in the East, and, as in a crusade sermon, encourages knights to reform and to go on crusade even or especially if royal and papal campaigns are not forthcoming. By situating *Sir Isumbras* in a history of contested crusading practices and expanding our definition of the crusading romance to include those that depict individual crusading as well as those that emphasize holy warfare, we are in a better position to evaluate the contribution of literature that, until now, has appeared to us only to celebrate an already defunct, impotent institution. As I argue in the next chapter, these two types of the crusading romance, represented in their earliest surviving forms by *Richard Cœur de Lion* and *Sir Isumbras*, continued to influence later English romances and their portrayals of armed conflict with Saracens, of individual struggles for salvation, of penitence and conversion, and of the significance of the Holy Land.

CHAPTER 3

*Fictions of recovery in later English
crusading romances*

Octavian *and* The Sowdone of Babyllone

The lineal descent by right of his mother proclaims Christ as the heir of the land in which he was born ... But a pagan interloper holds it now ... we do not carry on war against these men by attacking either their persons or their property ... Instead we are fighting open battles over worldly possessions with our brothers.

John Gower, *Vox clamantis* [The voice of one crying out] (c. 1380)¹

Let one of you be the noble Roland and the other the very perfect Oliver; and ... one of you may imitate the very valiant and knightly Charlemagne and the other that very bold and excellent King Arthur, when you fight against the enemies of the Faith, against schismatics and heretics.

Philippe de Mézières, *Epistre au Roi Richart* [Letter to King Richard II] (1395)²

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the English crusading romance adapted to changing political and economic circumstances while still retaining links to an existing tradition, just as crusading practices themselves did. As we have seen, the early fourteenth-century English crusading romances *Richard Cœur de Lion* and *Sir Isumbras* responded to the energy and interest generated by the loss of the Holy Land at the end of the thirteenth century. On the one hand *Richard Cœur de Lion* reacted to that loss by imaginatively rewriting the history of the Third Crusade in order to comment upon the possibilities of and failures in collective action among Christian military powers, while on the other hand *Sir Isumbras* blamed knights for failing to remember their crusading responsibilities and promoted individual action despite the absence of ecclesiastically sponsored campaigns. These two popular texts, which, as the manuscript evidence suggests, continued to be read throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, also represent the two basic forms of crusading presented in the crusading romance, the “croyserye” [holy warfare] and the “privy” [personal] crusade, that shaped subsequent English writing.³ This chapter continues to expand our notion of what qualifies as an English

crusading romance by analyzing other English romances typically associated with devotional interests in the context of late medieval crusade discourse. As these romances demonstrate, English authors continued to use the idea of crusading as a flexible tool for evaluating or challenging social and political relations.

Although substantial military actions and individual pilgrimages were part of the variety of crusading practices from the beginning, the distinction between these kinds of crusading sharpened in the fourteenth century for a number of reasons, some interrelated: the “localisation of crusading” into different spheres (e.g., Italy, Iberia, the Baltic, the eastern Mediterranean), each with their own scale of fighting and method of recruitment; the increasing reliance on professional armies and the rising costs of warfare; the rising efficiency of the armies of the Ottoman Turks, who began conquering chunks of Christian Eastern Europe; and the diversion of resources and potential crusade participants caused by the Anglo-French conflict and the Papal Schism (1378–1417), which hindered any centrally organized crusading effort because of the antagonism of the rival popes.⁴ In addition to the unsuccessful English crusade campaigns of Bishop Henry Despenser against Flanders in 1383 and of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, against Castile in 1386 – campaigns heavily determined by the politics of the Anglo-French war and the Schism – the English continued to participate in crusading across its various spheres. However, they mainly did so either as a contingent in a larger international force, as at Algeciras in Iberia in 1343 or at Mahdia in Tunisia in 1390, or as independent individuals or small groups, as with the seasonal *reysen* [raids] of the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic or with the *routier* [mercenary] companies that profited off the papal wars in Italy or threatened Avignon.⁵ This growing divide in crusading locales, scale, and aims did not prevent individuals from taking part in (and often seemingly equating) both kinds of crusading; Humphrey de Bohun (1341–73), earl of Hereford, for instance, fought in the eastern Mediterranean as well as at Alexandria and in the Baltic, while Henry of Grosmont (c. 1310–61), duke of Lancaster, fought at Algeciras and in the Baltic.⁶ Yet the increasing disparity among kinds of crusading activity in the fourteenth century altered how it was perceived in England; indeed, in the space of a little over ten years from 1383 to 1396, a “crusade” could mean a campaign against other Christians (Flanders, Castile), a small raid of knights against pagan Lithuanians (the Baltic), the siege of a Muslim city in Africa (Mahdia), or substantial military aid for Hungary against the Ottoman Turks in Eastern Europe (Nicolopolis). Hence, just as historical English crusaders and advocates adjusted to these

various situations and their differing ideological justifications, so too should we expect that the English crusading romance would adjust the focus on Jerusalem and the Holy Land found in texts such as *Richard Cœur de Lion* and *Sir Isumbras* to incorporate the range of contemporary experiences and aspirations.

My general argument is that, as a genre typically possessing topical interests, the English crusading romance in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries tends not to concentrate on the Holy Land directly, instead representing and reflecting on the locations that most concerned English crusaders and crusading thought: Iberia, Italy, and Eastern Europe.⁷ This shift has been largely unrecognized by scholars, whose approaches to the topic of medieval English crusading literature during this period fall roughly into two groups.⁸ One group identifies the presence of crusading rhetoric or themes in a variety of late medieval texts, though these studies tend to find that something other than crusading is the main purpose of those texts; the second group labels only two or three poems from this period as true crusading romances for their perceived role as propaganda for contemporary crusading campaigns.⁹ In either case late medieval English literature appears disassociated from the variety and breadth of historical crusading practices, since for the former group crusading becomes subordinate to insular or devotional concerns, such as the Anglo-French conflict or Lollardy, and is often believed to be invoked satirically or critically, while for the latter group crusading becomes limited to a handful of texts that serve only to excite the populace at a particular moment without reflecting more broadly on the evolution of crusading thought.

This scholarly division regarding the role of crusading in English literature derives from the difficulty of categorizing the variety of texts that invoke the idea in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. On the one hand, highly sophisticated authors such as Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower, and William Langland refer to crusade campaigns in sections of their longer works; on the other hand, an unusual set of anonymous poems from the same time period known as the Middle English Charlemagne romances mostly relate narratives of religious conflict but possess no apparent connection to any historical crusade.¹⁰ These latter poems, which are mainly translations and adaptations of Old French *chansons de geste* and are sometimes classified under the “Matter of France” by scholars, detail the fictional exploits of Charlemagne and his twelve peers against Muslim enemies. As a group they have received scant critical attention, and only recently have scholarly studies moved past the problem of

dismissing what have been called “undistinguished” translations of “patriotic” stories about French heroes to examine their deliberate aesthetic and thematic alterations to their sources.¹¹ When one adds other anonymous popular romances that are seen to contain devotional or hagiographic elements to this mixture, the problem of explaining crusading’s role in late medieval English literature becomes even more acute.

Janet Cowan, writing of the Charlemagne romances in general, suggests that “In certain respects the matter of Charlemagne in Middle English can usefully be considered less as a distinct corpus than as part of a larger body of Middle English texts displaying an interest in crusading and a devotion to the relics of the Passion.”¹² Drawing on this insight, this chapter examines two relatively neglected romances – *Octavian* (c. 1375) and *The Sowdone of Babylone* (c. 1400) – for their engagement with contemporary crusading issues. *Octavian* is an anonymous popular romance that tells of the twin sons of the Roman emperor Octavian and his falsely accused wife, Florence of France, who eventually reunite their family after saving Paris, their father, grandfather, and four other Christian kings from an invading sultan. *The Sowdone of Babylone*, by comparison, is an anonymous Charlemagne romance that combines the story of the destruction of Rome by an invading sultan and his son, Ferumbras, with the eventual conversion of Ferumbras and his sister Floripas, the defeat of the sultan, and the conquest of Iberia by Charlemagne and his twelve peers. Taken together these two romances, which portray crusading conflicts in France, Italy, and Iberia, provide a broader view of the crusading romance and its several discursive formulations, ones that parallel contemporary crusading practices and debates. By including these narratives as English crusading romances, the genre no longer comprises a small group of texts and devotional pilgrimage literature focused on the Holy Land, as some previous studies have suggested; instead, it becomes an evolving body of writing that continued to rework concepts of religious warfare and personal salvation over time and through different semi-fictional crusade geographies.¹³

In order to explore these romances’ engagement with crusading thought, I first discuss two examples of late medieval crusade discourse in England, a crusade proposal by Philippe de Mézières, French royal councilor and crusader, and the life and devotional text of John Clanvowe, an English knight and crusader associated with the Lollard movement. I then examine each romance in turn, demonstrating how they to various degrees blend the forms of holy warfare and individual pilgrimage established by the earlier English romances and by the examples of Philippe and Clanvowe. More specifically, I show how *Octavian*’s vision of Christendom’s original,

successful defense against Saracens through a crusading alliance among Christian kingdoms centered upon the Holy Roman emperor addresses a contemporary, fractured Europe that is also under attack and that requires renewed leadership. Finally, I argue that *The Sowdone of Babylone* reflects English crusading interest in Iberia and connects the idea of conversion to the defense or expansion of Christendom through its creation of new Christian kingdoms in Iberia based on marital and martial claims. For historians, these texts show that English narratives continued to hold up crusading practices as ideals to the English populace even as these practices pointed toward different crusading spheres with their own set of problems. For literary critics, these romances reveal that English authors in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries readily transformed existing narratives into crusading texts, often to suit English interests. In this sense, late medieval England, while certainly occupied with many fascinating challenges to or developments in religious orthodoxy, such as Lollardy, vernacular theology, and female spirituality, which affected and were shaped by literary production, nevertheless cannot be exempted from the orthodox intolerance of crusading. Or, viewed another way, in late medieval England the same kind of questioning that prompted religious reform and dissent also applied to crusade discourse, resulting in a range of approaches to crusading for the popular imagination.

VARIETIES OF CRUSADE DISCOURSE IN THE LATE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

One of the major components of crusade discourse in the early fourteenth century was the recovery treatise; these treatises, although varied in aims and advice, formulated plans to recapture the Holy Land through the cooperative military efforts of Christian Europe. After the initial flurry of recovery treatises in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, however, few new treatises were produced, though several of the old ones continued to be copied. This paucity of treatises has been attributed to several shifts in the political situation, particularly the rise of the Ottoman Turks, which made the earlier theorists' advice against Egypt immaterial, the Anglo-French conflict, and the increasingly reliance on Eastern European powers familiar with local conditions to formulate crusading plans of attack.¹⁴ Of the new treatises produced, which include one by Emmanuel Piloti, a merchant from Crete, and various fifteenth-century crusade plans provided for Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, the prolific output of Philippe de Mézières (c. 1327–1405) stands out for its elaborate,

often allegorical discussions of peace and of a new military order as the means by which the Turks and Mamluks would be defeated. In particular, his *Épistre au Roi Richart* [Letter to King Richard II], completed in 1395, proposed peace between England and France, a marriage alliance, a solution to the Schism, and a two-part crusade combining English and French forces to recover the Holy Land.¹⁵

Alongside Philippe's lofty plan of conquest, which was part of the negotiations that eventually resulted in the Nicopolis campaign, the lived experience and individual devotional practices of English crusading knights provide another component of late medieval crusade discourse. Sir John Clanvowe (1341–91), a soldier, diplomat, and chamber knight for Edward III and Richard II as well as a friend of Chaucer, is notable for his crusading experience – he joined the Mahdia campaign in 1390 and died outside Constantinople in 1391 while on pilgrimage with his sworn brother Sir William Neville – and for his writing, since he is the author of a courtly dream vision and, more significant for this study, a religious treatise known as *The Two Ways*, written just before his death on pilgrimage.¹⁶ Together Philippe and Clanvowe indicate the different ways that holy warfare and private crusading were imagined and enacted in an English context at the end of the fourteenth century.

Philippe de Mézières began writing about the crusade as early as 1365 while serving as chancellor for Peter I of Cyprus, the leader of the Alexandria campaign, and continued to address the idea in several different works in Latin and French until 1397 with his *Épistre lamentable et consolatoire* [Pitiful and consolatory letter] about the crusader defeat at Nicopolis. A recurring part of Philippe's crusade writing is the Order of the Passion, an idea for a new military order he first invented in 1347 and which he promulgated and revised throughout his life. As its name suggests, the Order is justified ideologically through the imagery of Jesus' suffering body – even the Order's uniform is likened by Philippe to wearing the armor of the Passion, which would seem to concentrate attention on Jerusalem and the Holy Land.¹⁷ However, in the case of the Order Philippe uses crusading ideology to reform chivalry and, consequently, Christian Europe, with the recovery of the Holy Land being a secondary effect. As Lynn Staley explains, "Jerusalem delivered would be the result of European unity, not its cause ... the order itself would heal a Europe torn apart by war and schism; the sign of that healing would be the recovery of the Holy City."¹⁸ Moreover, with its own elaborate systems of government and finance and its membership drawn from "the seven languages of Christendom," not from Christian nations, Philippe's Order addresses the

weaknesses of crusading's associational forms, a problem present from the beginning, in a manner recalling the interests of several early fourteenth-century recovery treatises and *Richard Cœur de Lion*.¹⁹

In this context Philippe's *Epistre au Roi Richart* of 1395 represents the product of sustained engagement with difficult crusading problems over many years. Though the Order of the Passion never materialized, the *Epistre* discusses it and the related topics of peace and crusade campaigns with the same curious combination of elevated religious language and more practical diplomacy that appears in other crusade discourse. For instance, Philippe presents the Order as a "preparatory medicine" for "the reform and cure ... of the general disorders ... now prevailing throughout Christendom" that will be followed by the "greater medicine" of the two monarchs' joint crusade, yet he then lists the benefits of the Order in functional terms: the redirection of knights' energies against enemies of the faith, an advance force that will ensure safe landing for the joint crusade, military aid for conquering the Holy Land, and the spread of Catholicism in the East.²⁰ This fantastic mixture of materials is replicated throughout the *Epistre* as a whole, which combines allegories and parables of balms and precious stones with more straightforward advice on the financial benefits of his strategy, on French inheritance laws that would prevent future Anglo-French strife, and on the dangers of listening to war-mongers. Of the *Epistre's* many extended metaphors, though, the most illuminating for the English romance's treatment of contemporary crusade history and thought is the parable of the two kings, Vigilant and Malavisé.

In Philippe's interpretation, the parable of King Vigilant and King Malavisé blends crusade history with criticism of contemporary rulers and nascent political theory. To recapitulate the parable briefly, two neighboring kings, Vigilant and Malavisé, were at war, but because Malavisé "put his trust more in human strength than in the justice of his cause, in diligence, or in the help of God," he lost first his capital and then his kingdom, being forced to flee to a cold, distant region.²¹ Vigilant subsequently destroys the banners of his enemy, proclaims Malavisé to be banished, and subjects the people of Malavisé's kingdom. Malavisé eventually realizes that his loss resulted from his own poor governance, and, unable to recover his kingdom immediately because of Vigilant's power, charges an old knight to remind him at every royal assembly of his loss and his faults.

At first glance, this parable seems to be about good and bad government in war; both the kings' conduct and their allegorical names imply that one should desire to be Vigilant [watchful] and not Malavisé [ill-advised],

particularly since the preceding section of the *Epistre* concludes by referring to the Anglo-French conflict under Edward III and John II. However, Philippe unsettles reader expectations to a certain extent by explaining after the parable that Malavisé “may be understood [as] a Christian king, representing in his person the Emperor of Rome and all other Christian kings,” and that Vigilant stands for “the Sultan of Babylon.”²² As Philippe elaborates, the parable functions as a condensed version of crusade history, especially the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and the loss of Acre in 1291, since Christian kings, who formerly possessed Jerusalem and the Holy Land but now are restricted to “the West,” lost them to the sultan of Babylon because of “lack of justice and neglect of knightly discipline.”²³ Vigilant’s actions – his burning of Malavisé’s banners, banishment of the king, and subjection of his people – become not the lawful actions of a victorious ruler but the destruction of holy relics, the unlawful occupation of Christian land, and the continued enslavement of Christians by Muslims. Philippe’s historical interpretation of this simple allegory indicates how condensed, abstract narratives could be employed to encapsulate and discuss crusading issues. This approach was not new, since Marino Sanudo, in his recovery treatise *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* [Book of the secrets of the faithful of the cross] (1307–21), used two short allegories – one of a powerful fortress exacting tribute that must be captured and another of an enormous tree overshadowing good fruit that must be cut down – to explain why previous attacks on Egypt had failed and why Islam remained so powerful.²⁴ Yet in relation to the English crusading romance, Philippe’s allegory of Malavisé as all Christian rulers, past and present, demonstrates how concise poems such as *Sir Isumbras* could expect audiences to understand a single character’s religious or political journey as representing broader topics in crusade discourse despite the text’s lack of allusions to historical crusading figures such as Godfrey of Bouillon, Richard I, or Louis IX. Moreover, the circumstances for Philippe’s influence to spread were favorable: his *Epistre* was written in French, not Latin, and was conveyed by the French crusader Robert le Mennot (Robert the Hermit), who had already discussed peace and crusading with English and French diplomats in 1393 and who stayed with Richard II for a month in 1395 after delivering it, while Philippe’s Order included powerful English nobles such as John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, as well as the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Huntingdon as patrons.²⁵

Philippe’s parable of the two kings also shares with the English crusading romance the narrative pattern of loss and recovery; the *Epistre* uses this pattern to criticize contemporary rulers and to advance political

theory about Christian rulers' collective responsibility for the Holy Land.²⁶ Embedded within Philippe's historical interpretation of the parable and references to former rulers of the kingdom of Jerusalem is a critique of "Christian kings who have long been ill-advised, and still are," since, as he explains, the Holy Land contains the "public lands of Christendom belonging ... to all Christian peoples ... [and] to their kings and princes," with the result that "all the emperors, popes, and kings, on account of their negligence, were parties to the loss of the Holy Land ... And ... because they have so long delayed the recovery of the Holy Land ... in shedding the blood of one another ... they may truly be called *roys malaviséz* [misguided kings]." By explicitly linking the narrative pattern and language of loss ("la perdicion") and recovery ("recouvrer") to his allegory and to the claims of "divine, civil and moral laws" on kings to act for the common good, Philippe renders his critique of "*roys malaviséz*" and their internecine behavior current without singling out a specific ruler.²⁸

Indeed, the odd topicality of the abstract parable is confirmed when Philippe's adopted persona of the "Old Solitary," the narrative voice with which he opens the entire *Epistre*, becomes a character from the parable:

[The] Solitary ... will assume the part of the poor, old knight, who has lost his heritage, that is, the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem; and he will come, in spirit, into the hall, before the said Kings ... sounding his great hunting horn ... to summon to God's great hunt the greyhounds and the coursing dogs to capture the rich prize, so that the name Malavisé may be changed.²⁹

Beyond its suggestive imagery of crusading as "God's great hunt," this passage highlights the productive tension between allegory and contemporary history in Philippe's writing, since his allegorical persona, the Old Solitary, enters another allegory, the parable of the two kings, in order to become what Philippe actually is – an old knight who has been reminding European rulers about their lack of crusading activity for years and who continues to do so in the *Epistre* itself. In a similar fashion, the *Epistre*'s proposed solution to European crusading failures also operates on multiple levels, for if two different kings, Richard II and Charles VI, heed the advice of the old knight/Philippe, they will change "the name Malavisé ... to *Bien-avisé* [well-advised]" and will avenge the wrongs committed by the sultan of Babylon.³⁰

Altogether Philippe's parable of the two kings demonstrates the continued connection between storytelling and crusade propaganda or discourse. Though this crusading parable is by no means the only allegory in the *Epistre*, its inclusion and extensive elaboration alongside the political

maneuvering of peace negotiations and a proposed marriage alliance provides a late fourteenth-century view of crusading as intimately connected to the major issues of the day.³¹ This connection is evident when Philippe later offers a parable of two gardens to describe the state of “all Christian kingdoms” at peace or at war, presenting it as a choice between “two gardens, that is, one of light and the other of darkness ... one the way to Paradise, the other the road to noisesome Hell.”³² Philippe’s glowing affirmation of peace in this parable is, upon closer inspection, only a peace among Christians as the means to make his two-part crusade possible. Thus, when in the concluding sections of the *Epistre* Philippe returns to the topic of crusading through literary heroes, declaring of Richard II and Charles VI that “one of you [will] be the noble Roland and the other the very perfect Oliver ... one of you may imitate the very valiant ... Charlemagne and the other that very bold ... King Arthur, when you fight against the enemies of the Faith,” the proffered choice between the allegorical roads to Paradise or to Hell becomes in its historical sense the choice either of a crusading “journey” ultimately leading to the Holy Land or the continuation of the war between England and France.³³

Philippe’s writing depended on and was addressed to monarchs and powerful nobles, and it focused on large-scale holy warfare as a solution to many of Europe’s problems. Though the resulting Nicopolis crusade campaign in 1396 did not match the intentions of Philippe or of the Burgundian, French, and English courts, it did not mark the end of English engagement with holy warfare, both in reality and in fiction. Philippe’s manner of discussing crusading practices through abstract narratives remained viable for English authors in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, particularly since English monarchs showed some sustained support for crusading; Richard II, for instance, allowed English churches to collect special donations to aid Byzantium, under threat from the Turks, in 1398, while Henry IV asserted, though never fulfilled, his desire to campaign against the Turks, and donated equipment and funds to the Hospitallers.³⁴ Running parallel to and occasionally intersecting with these plans for holy war, individual crusading pilgrimages continued to attract English nobles and knights, and, as they too adjusted to contemporary circumstances, provide another context for late medieval crusading literature.

This different emphasis is apparent in the deeds and writing of John Clanvowe, specifically his participation in the Mahdia crusade campaign and his subsequent pilgrimage and death outside Constantinople, where he completed his vernacular devotional treatise *The Two Ways* and where

he was buried in a highly unusual joint tomb with his friend, William Neville, with their heraldic coats of arms impaled. As with Philippe, Clanvowe demonstrates how different kinds of writing could be used to discuss crusading practices or topics, such as the reform of knighthood; however, in contrast to Philippe and in keeping with the strategies and investments adopted by individual crusading texts such as *Sir Isumbras*, Clanvowe does not address the topic of crusading directly.³⁵ Instead, his life and writing reveal a concept of knightly reform through changes in personal behavior and values. By voluntarily participating in the Mahdia crusade and subsequently journeying to Constantinople at approximately fifty years old – in contrast to his campaigns against the French in his youth, where men fought for riches and fame – Clanvowe demonstrates a kind of personal transformation that privileges meritorious combat against a Saracen opponent without invoking grand plans for holy war. Similarly his treatise, which stresses mankind's sinfulness and need for penance and which condemns those "wyse and worsshipful men of this world" who struggle to acquire "eeses, and lustes, and worsshipe, and greet loos [reputation] in this world" rather than spiritual goods, does not directly advocate crusading; yet its opening line, "This tretis next folewynge maade Sir Johan Clanevowe, knyght, the laste viage that he maade ouer the greete see in whiche he dyede, of whos soul Ihesu haue mercy," provides a significant context for the spiritual matter that follows, since a "viage [voyage] ... ouer the greete see" made by a knight can be either a simple pilgrimage or a crusade journey, both of which could value the rejection of worldly pomp that follows.³⁶ Indeed, when considered in relation to his final military campaign and his unusual burial, Clanvowe's treatise seems to have less to do with Lollardy and its antagonism towards ecclesiastical institutions, as some scholars have suggested, and more to do with a strand of English crusade writing that finds institutionalized ecclesiastical and aristocratic crusading practices (e.g., Philippe's royally sponsored campaign) ineffective or corrupt – a strand that existed long before John Wyclif's critiques of church institutions were disseminated.³⁷

Contemporary historical sources provide some evidence, albeit not definitive, for Clanvowe's engagement with unofficial crusading practices. While in the *St. Albans Chronicle* Clanvowe is mentioned briefly as a Lollard supporter along with several other English knights, in the *Westminster Chronicle*, which discusses Despenser's crusade to Flanders in 1383 and John of Gaunt's crusade against Castile in 1386 in relatively positive terms, both Clanvowe's involvement in the Mahdia crusade in 1390 and his death outside Constantinople in 1391 are described favorably.³⁸

The account of the Mahdia crusade stresses Clanvowe's place among "men of greatest distinction," explaining:

It became generally known at this time how the Saracens in Turkey and elsewhere had completely destroyed the lands and settlements of the Christians, whom they laid under tribute ... though it was sometimes withheld and for this reason the Saracens had laid siege to a town in Barbary or Africa which the Genoese ... had lately captured and were now occupying in company with other Christians ... A number of Englishmen ... accordingly begged leave of the king to go out to the relief of the town ... including ... Sir William Nevill [and] Sir John Clanvow.³⁹

As one of only three men mentioned by name in the *Westminster Chronicle* in connection with this crusade, Clanvowe joined the campaign as part of a small English contingent working in conjunction with crusaders from Genoa, France, Iberia, and the Low Countries. Despite the crusade's failure to capture the city (not to defend it, as the chronicler mistakenly asserts), the Mahdia campaign illustrates how individuals in England could use crusading to bypass the politics of the Schism and the lack of royal involvement, since they fought alongside the French and under the blessing of the rival pope.

When in a later section the chronicler recounts the duke of Gloucester's preparations to visit the Teutonic Order, provides the news of Clanvowe's death, and then mentions the death of a Lord Clifford on a penitential journey to Jerusalem, this surrounding context of crusading activity appears to indicate that Clanvowe's involvement with crusading, not heretical Lollardy, defines the end of his life.⁴⁰ Of his death the chronicler reports:

[I]n a village near Constantinople in Greece the life of Sir John Clanvow, a distinguished knight, came to its close, causing to his companion on the march, Sir William Nevill, for whom his love was no less than for himself, such inconsolable sorrow that he never took food again and two days afterwards breathed his last ... These two knights were men of high repute among the English.⁴¹

In their joint article on the two knights and their highly unusual tomb slab, Siegrid Düll, Anthony Luttrell, and Maurice Keen point out several uncertainties regarding Clanvowe and Neville's presence in the East, the depiction of both knights' arms on both of the sculpted shields – a practice typically employed only with married couples – and the extent of their Lollard sympathies.⁴² The tomb itself is ornate and expensive, and seemingly contradicts the request for humble burial found in some surviving "Lollard" wills or the general emphasis on humility in Clanvowe's *The Two Ways*; furthermore, the very rare heraldic practice of impaling two

gentlemen's arms seems to be intended to commemorate a specifically military bond between the two men, namely their status as sworn companions or brothers in arms.⁴³ This bond is possibly reflected in the chronicler's comment on Neville's dying out of grief shortly after Clanvowe. Taking into account this militant tomb and their presence in the East at a time when European rulers were far from launching a large-scale crusading expedition, it seems likely that Clanvowe and Neville were engaged in a form of individual crusading, especially since originally they had been licensed to travel to Rhodes, the current base for the Hospitallers, before participating in the Mahdia crusade.⁴⁴ Luttrell writes that their journey to the East occurred "at a moment when a number of English knights were mixing crusading and pilgrimage travel in a type of tour," and this type of crusading practice, where individuals could create bonds and undertake martial journeys for personal reform – a stance perhaps not so much anti-institutional as extra-institutional – also informs Clanvowe's devotional tract.⁴⁵

The Two Ways is an interesting text for what it does and does not mention; it does not discuss papal or church authority, instead concentrating on the image and imitation of Jesus, the difficulty of keeping the commandments in the face of numerous temptations, and the problem that those who live simply and "desiren noo greet naame of this world" are considered "lolleris and loselis" [idlers and scoundrels] by others.⁴⁶ The title of the tract derives from its opening paraphrase of Matthew 7:13–14, where Jesus said, "The gaate is wyde and the way is brood that leedeth to los [loss, destruction] and manye goon in that way, and how streit is the gaate and the weye nargh that leedeth to the lyf and few fynden that way."⁴⁷ Clanvowe's treatise follows this conceit of the broad, wide way to hell and the narrow, straight way to heaven with orthodox theological points about living properly and about not being misled by one's own vices or the influence of others.

Nonetheless, despite the absence of any direct reference to crusading and its conventional ethical doctrine, *The Two Ways* resonates with contemporary crusade discourse in multiple ways. As mentioned previously, the tract's ignoring of ecclesiastical authority and rejection of worldly reputation in a piece explicitly authored by a "knyght" picks up on calls for knightly reform through crusading found in the earlier English romance *Sir Isumbras*, in chronicles of Acre's fall, and in some recovery treatises. Additionally, although to my knowledge Matthew 7:13–14 was rarely cited in surviving crusade sermons or chronicles, it is perhaps significant that William of Malmesbury, the only English author who records a version of

Urban II's speech at Clermont launching the First Crusade, writes in his twelfth-century *Gesta regum Anglorum* [History of the English kings] that the pope urged Christians to discount the dangers of the journey and to "set before your hearts that divine saying: 'Narrow is the way that leadeth unto life'."⁴⁸ In William's account, Urban uses the biblical citation to link the crusaders' journey to Jerusalem to the soul's "journey" on the narrow path to heaven, noting that "the path to be travelled is constricted ... and overcast with perils; but this same road will lead you to the fatherland that you have lost, for indeed 'We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God'."⁴⁹ While it is improbable that Clanvowe read William's Latin chronicle, the parallel between the latter's description of crusading's origins and the former's devotional tract about "folewynge [God's] traaces," "weyes," and "pathes" to eternal life while traveling to the East suggests that a connection between the idea of the two ways and crusading could have been made by Clanvowe or by his audience.⁵⁰

This broad correspondence is evident in the particular focus of some of the examples Clanvowe chooses to illustrate biblical precepts, for they hint at his own interest in knightly reform or salvation. When discussing the Ten Commandments, for instance, Clanvowe carefully explicates the fifth commandment to include authorized violence, writing "And alle thoo that sleen any man in thought, in woord, or in deede, thei breken the fifthe comaundement, but yef it been swiche as haan auctorite by good resoun for to putte men therto that disseruen the deeth by Goddis lawe."⁵¹ This gloss allowing for killing when licensed by proper "auctorite" may simply be a reconciliation of the biblical injunction with general medieval legal and military custom; however, since this explanation immediately follows Clanvowe's statement that the fourth commandment – to honor one's parents – includes worshiping one's "gostly moodir holy chirche," it seems likely that killing those who "disseruen the deeth by Goddis lawe" would comprise crusading against infidels for the benefit of one's soul.⁵² Elsewhere Clanvowe again describes "gostly" matters by recourse to material metaphors when he explains that because "synne muste neede bee punysshed in this world or in anoother" Christians should "marchaundise wysily."⁵³ That is, just as "wyse marchaunts" will spend twenty pounds readily in order to avoid losing one hundred, so too should good Christians put away their vices in order to "wynne the blisse of heuene."⁵⁴ This merchandizing metaphor, while somewhat unusual for a knight, would otherwise be unremarkable except that it echoes an element of crusade preaching and propaganda that presented crusading as a way to buy entrance to heaven cheaply. In a thirteenth-century

sermon, for example, James of Vitry comments on the “modest labour and the immense reward” of crusading and the “good bargain that the Lord makes” through this opportunity.⁵⁵ James continues with his merchandizing metaphor, saying that, “a good bargain draws the penny from the purse. Therefore, do not stay in the purse of the devil ... the Lord now makes a good bargain and gives his kingdom for just about nothing. There is nothing cheaper to buy than the kingdom of God.”⁵⁶ Clanvowe’s and James’s texts share a similar strategy of invoking and inverting common material values about money in favor of penance that “buys” the way to heaven. In light of the crusade indulgence’s codification of the exchange of money or military service for spiritual reward, Clanvowe’s merchandizing metaphor seems to recall crusading’s demand that one sacrifice “worsshippe, and eese, or riches of this world” in order to enter heaven.⁵⁷

The Two Ways extends this line of thought to its logical conclusion when Clanvowe condemns the traditional behavior of rulers and knights who pursue worldly reputation, ease, and riches at the expense of spiritual matters. In a passage consistent with his own behavior in joining the Mahdia crusade and journeying to the East, Clanvowe writes:

ffor the world holt hem worsshipful that been greete werreyours and fighteres and that distroyen and wynnen manye loondis, and waasten and yeuen muche good to hem that haan ynough, and that dispenden outrageously ... And also the world worsshipeth hem muchel that woln bee venged proudly and dispitously of eury wrong that is seid or doon to hem. And of swyche folke men maken bookes and soonges ... for to hoolde the mynde of here dedes the lengere heere vpon eerth, ffor that is a thing that worldely men desiren greedly.⁵⁸

According to Clanvowe, identified as a “knyght,” these proud “worldely men” and “greete werreyours” are improperly regarded as “worsshipful” because their behavior is sinful and their desires are not for eternal things. While this passage criticizes the kind of behavior familiar to (and likely committed by) Clanvowe during the Anglo-French conflict, it does not denounce those who kill others with the “auctorite ... [of] Goddis lawe” mentioned in his discussion of the fifth commandment, thereby rendering the theoretically humble and charitable practice of crusading a viable alternative to worldly chivalric display. Likewise, Clanvowe’s rejection of the “bookes and soonges” that record vain worldly deeds, rather than being a dismissal of all literature, functions in contrast to the “ensaumple of the seintes” who have “left here woord and her teechyng to vs” and, presumably, to tracts such as *The Two Ways* itself.⁵⁹ Though *The Two Ways* as a whole is not a crusading treatise, in the context of Clanvowe’s final

travels and burial the tract attempts to resolve contradictory elements of certain aspects of chivalric and religious culture confronting knights – an idea that several historians have invoked to explain the strong response to Urban II's speech at Clermont as well as crusading's continued popularity.⁶⁰ Throughout the text Clanvowe's reconfiguration of knightly values and pursuits is carefully constructed so as to leave crusading – particularly in its individual form – as an implicit option for those who would follow God's way literally and figuratively, and Clanvowe situates that option within a larger contemporary interest in reflecting on and imitating Jesus.

Together Clanvowe's final journeys and tract and Philippe's *Epistre* display recognizable continuities with earlier crusade discourse, but they also possess an added urgency to their programs for reform because of the effects of the Schism and the Anglo-French conflict. Philippe's use of abstract allegory alongside more practical politics, his allusions to literary crusading heroes such as Charlemagne and Roland, and his shift in emphasis from the recovery of the Holy Land to the priority of reforming knights through the Order of the Passion endeavor to apply crusade discourse to contemporary social conditions in a new way. Similarly, Clanvowe's death outside Constantinople, his stress on Jesus' teachings and suffering, and his censure of knights' typical behavior show how crusade discourse could be aligned with larger configurations of individual religious devotion without involving kings and armies. Moreover, in spite of their differences in language, audience, and subject matter, the two texts share a common element of presenting European Christians with a critical choice. In the *Epistre* this choice is between the garden of crusading peace and that of internecine war, and between rulers who are well advised or ill advised; choosing correctly will result in the recovery of the lost Holy Land and the reform of knights via the large-scale, cooperative efforts of kings and nobles. In *The Two Ways* the choice is between the narrow way to heaven or the broad way to hell, and between earning spiritual or worldly worth, particularly for knights; choosing properly may not directly recover the Holy Land, but it will save the individual from loss of body and soul, with one mechanism for performing penance being the active, personal crusading enacted by its author. The English crusading romances of this period, particularly *Octavian* and *The Sowdone of Babylone*, also explore these topics by reworking existing material to address the individual's use of crusading to recover from a sinful state or the uniting and expansion of Christendom through marriage and conversion.

THE EMPEROR OCTAVIAN: THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE AND
THE CRUSADING ORIGINS OF CHRISTENDOM

As with many English romances, the anonymous Middle English romance *Octavian*, typically dated c. 1350 but likely composed closer to 1375, is derived from older sources, and that connection as well as its existence in two Middle English versions has obscured the poem's relationship to late fourteenth-century crusading thought in England.⁶¹ *Octavian* is ultimately based on a twelfth-century *chanson de geste* written in the Picard dialect of French that is no longer extant. This *chanson de geste* was rewritten in an Anglo-Norman version of 5,371 lines composed in the late thirteenth century. Scholars agree that this Anglo-Norman poem is the primary source for the two Middle English versions, known as the Northern and Southern versions because of their dialect and provenance; both versions condense the Anglo-Norman poem significantly and also include material not found in it.⁶² In general the *Octavian* story was widespread in medieval Europe, as a prose version of the French tale eventually was translated into Italian, German, Danish, Dutch, Icelandic, and Polish.⁶³ Additionally, the story has links to other English crusading romances: in its second catalogue of romance heroes, *Richard Cœur de Lion* lists "Octauyan" as one of the figures whom Richard I surpasses alongside such notables as Charlemagne, Arthur, Aeneas, and Bevis of Hampton; William of Nassington (d. 1354) denigrates *Octavian* and *Sir Isumbras* as "veyn carpyng" in the introduction to his translation of the *Speculum Vitae*; and the early fifteenth-century *Laud Troy Book*, in a catalogue of romance heroes paralleling *Richard Cœur de Lion*, lists "Octouian" along with Charlemagne, Roland, Gawain, Bevis, and Richard I.⁶⁴

Scholars have concentrated most of their attention on the Northern version of *Octavian*, which uses twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas and which generally follows the Anglo-Norman source more closely; three separate scholarly editions of this version were produced in the last century.⁶⁵ This study, by contrast, focuses on the Southern version, which employs highly unusual six-line rhyming stanzas (aaabab) and which was possibly written by Thomas Chestre, the author of *Sir Launfal* and perhaps *Lybeaus Desconus*; it has been edited only once in the last century, and until recently scholars have accepted Maldwyn Mills's assessment of it as "inept and careless."⁶⁶ In terms of genre, both versions of the poem have been described as a "domestic romance" or a "family romance," though Dieter Mehl acknowledges their "crusading atmosphere" and finds the Southern *Octavian* to be the "more openly didactic" so that "nearly every

fight ... is part of a crusade.”⁶⁷ Building on Mehl’s insight, I select the Southern version for study here because its changes to the Anglo-Norman source – greater than those of the Northern version – balance an interest in family relations with an interest in alliances and political relationships in Christendom; these changes reshape the courtly French narrative into a crusading romance.

In terms of its plot, *Octavian* shares elements and motifs with several English romances, including *Sir Isumbras*.⁶⁸ The Southern *Octavian*, surviving in one manuscript and condensing the Anglo-Norman poem to just under 2,000 lines, begins with Octavian, identified alternatively as the emperor of Rome and as the emperor of “Almeyne” [Germany] (1701), thereby collapsing the distinction between the classical world of the Roman emperor Octavian (Augustus) and the medieval world of Holy Roman emperors such as Otto I.⁶⁹ Octavian is advised by his barons to marry and beget an heir; he is married to Florence, the daughter of King Dagobert of France, by Pope “Seynt Clement” (61), and Florence gives birth to twin sons, who are baptized as Florent and Octavian (i.e., the younger). However, the emperor’s wicked mother tricks him into believing that Florence was sleeping with a cook’s knave. The emperor sentences Florence to death with her two sons, although her pleas cause him to banish them instead. In the wilderness, an ape steals Florent, who is eventually captured by outlaws and sold at Marseille, a French crusading port, to a butcher from Paris, also named Clement, who is returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. While Clement raises Florent in Paris, a lioness steals Florence’s other son, Octavian, and both are carried by a griffin to an island where the lioness nurses the child. The empress wanders to Brindisi, an Italian port also associated with crusade fleets, and boards a ship of pilgrims headed to the Holy Land. On the way to Jerusalem the ship discovers the younger Octavian and the lioness on the island; Florence recovers her son and the lioness becomes his faithful guardian. The mother and son then stay in Jerusalem, where she earns her living making clothes until she and the younger Octavian attract the notice of the nameless Christian king of Jerusalem. Up to this point, the poem concentrates on the separation and trials of the imperial family, though it does so in the context of locations key to crusading and pilgrimage.

The story then emphasizes crusading elements more directly by combining an account of Florent’s upbringing in Paris, where he reveals his innate nobility, with an attack on Christendom. The sultan of Babylon invades Europe, conquering Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal and driving the emperor and other Christian kings to Paris; a Saracen giant

terrorizes the besieged city and kills the twelve peers. In a dream the Virgin Mary chooses Florent to defeat the Saracens, and his foster-father convinces the king to knight Florent. Wearing Clement's old, rusty armor, Florent kills the giant and captures the heart of the sultan's daughter, who runs away with Florent, converts, and marries him. Through her help Clement sneaks into the Saracen camp and steals the sultan's magical horse. The sultan brings reinforcements from Araby, Persia, Greece, and Africa, and despite Florent's prowess defeats and captures the Christian rulers and Florent, sending them to Egypt. News arrives in Jerusalem of the Christian defeat and the king of Jerusalem resolves to attack the Saracens when they land at Acre. The younger Octavian and his faithful lioness rescue his father, brother, and the other Christian kings, who then return together to France and defeat the sultan. Everyone returns to Paris, and Florence, who recounts her story, is reunited with the emperor and her sons while the emperor's mother is burnt for treason.

This summary reveals that whatever the text's aesthetic merits, *Octavian* possesses a wide-ranging, fantastical narrative that focuses heavily on religious conflict. The romance shares elements such as the separation of family, the kidnapping of children by animals, the problem of invading sultans, and a limited awareness of crusade geography (e.g., Acre, Brindisi, Marseille) with *Sir Isumbras*; as with that text, *Octavian* also adjusts elements of its source material to create a crusading romance. In the case of *Octavian*, however, the romance is aimed not at private crusading and the reform of individual knights but at celebrating the creation of crusading alliances among Christian kingdoms centered upon the Holy Roman emperor and cemented by familial bonds, since the empire develops special bonds with France and Jerusalem to defend against those who would "destroye all Crystendome" (1574) because of Florent's and the younger Octavian's upbringing. This different focus recalls comparable concerns about associational action expressed in *Richard Cœur de Lion*, but in *Octavian*'s historical context of the Anglo-French conflict, of crusades against Christians in Italy (such as those during Gregory XI's pontificate from 1371 to 1378), and of the Papal Schism that produced an antipope also called Clement (VII) in 1378, the poem notably omits the English from the united crusading forces that eventually repel the invading Saracens from continental Europe and from France and Italy in particular. The poem's point in so doing appears to be an implied contrast between the Christian victories of the past and the internal strife of the present, as when the narrator laments the sultan's victories on behalf of all Christians, saying that "*Our partie hadde so lytyll socour / Of Crystendome*" (915–16,

my emphasis) that all lords abandoned “wyth dolour / The se of Rome” (917–18).

On the whole *Octavian's* “abstract,” condensed narrative operates similarly to Philippe de Mézières's parable of King Vigilant (i.e., the sultan of Babylon) and Malavisé (i.e., all Christian kings and the emperor) in his *Epistre*, though in the poem Christendom eventually recovers from its initial defeat by the Saracens, Octavian recovers from being “ill-advised,” and both Christendom and the kingdom of Jerusalem are maintained by cooperative action of Christian rulers. *Octavian* is valuable as evidence for the existence of the same kind of crusading parable in English writing in the late fourteenth century, revealing that grand crusading alliances were being imagined, however fancifully, for a variety of audiences, and that such narratives need not feature English heroes. *Octavian's* adaptation into a crusading romance can be detected in this narrative pattern of loss and recovery that structures the poem, but also in the romance's opening and closing appeals to its audience, in its presentation of Florent as God's crusading champion, and in its use of crusading imagery in the extended final battle scene, all of which include elements not found in the Northern version.

In the opening invocation, the narrator complains that many people listen to tales of “ryba[u]dy” (14) but few will pay attention to an instructive tale. His tale, however, will teach its audience “to lere / Of ham that before vs were, / Crystendom how they gonne arere” [to learn how those who came before us began to advance Christendom] (19–21), emphasizing its religious and political significance and, by offering an idealized model of associational action as a means to recover lost lands, its implications for the contemporary divided and defeated Christendom.⁷⁰ Similarly, in the conclusion the narrator provides a moral for the tale, saying “Thus God kan turne wrong to ryght / Thorugh hys poste [power]” (1949–50). This reframing of the poem's source material employs the crusading romance's narrative pattern of loss and recovery, since God's ability to turn wrong into right refers immediately to the restoration of Florence's reputation and the imperial family's reunion, but also extends to the advancing of Christendom through the reconquest of France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal from the sultan.

According to the poem's most recent editor, “Reduced to its essentials, the story is one of innocence suffering through malice and rash judgment, patient endurance, and virtue rewarded,” but this view of *Octavian* as a general tale of good triumphing in the end seems to be based more on the source material and the Northern version than on what the poem

directly states.⁷¹ Although Empress Florence does suffer unjustly, her journey becomes part of a larger reconfiguration of the narrative to emphasize how various characters earn martial or aristocratic status as defenders of Christendom. When she arrives in Jerusalem, for instance, Florence supports herself and her son by sewing “vestmentys” (623) for “holy cherche” (624); this hard work, as well as her son’s lion, bring her to the attention of the king of Jerusalem, who asks her to make his military “baner” (645), lets her live in the queen’s chamber, and knights her son. William Fahrenbach argues that a similar process occurs with the poem’s portrayal of Clement, Florent’s foster-father, who “transforms himself; he comes to function as an exemplum of good behavior for Chestre’s audience, a model for reforming themselves to display those qualities that warrant social prestige.”⁷² In contrast to the satiric treatment he receives in other versions of the story, Clement is knighted at the end of the poem for his stealing of the sultan’s horse and his protection of Florent’s wife, while Florent addresses him as “fadyr myn” (1797) and says he has “ysuffryed mych pyn / For my loue” (1799–800). For its English audience, then, *Octavian* signals its generic affiliations by showing that innocence and virtue are rewarded only in relation to how “Crystendom ... they ... arere” (21) in a military fashion, which is a key feature of crusade discourse.

The poem’s focus on the advancement of Christendom through religious combat is evident in its major scenes of confrontation with the Saracens, such as when Florent is chosen by Mary to be the Christian champion against the Saracens, another detail not found in the source material or other versions.⁷³ While living in Paris and besieged by the sultan and his giant, Florent, still unaware of his true pedigree, has a dream each night that “The quene of heuene on hors hym sette, / And bad hym wende & quite hys dette / That was her fo” (986–8). Whereas other versions of the story use Florent’s preparation to fight the giant as an opportunity for some class comedy or satire, *Octavian* makes Florent’s combat divinely determined, with Mary telling him to fight because “her sone, that balys bette, / Het hym do so” (989–90).⁷⁴ The combination of a divine injunction from Jesus and Mary with the ambiguous language of the passage, where Florent must “quite hys dette,” possibly meaning simply to pay back the giant for his blows or to pay the “debt” he owes to God by fighting against his foes, locates this conflict within the general ideology of crusade discourse. Moreover, when Florent tells Clement of his dream, the latter does not scoff or act boorishly, but immediately praises God and asks the king of France to knight Florent; the king does just what “Clemen[t] the bocher badde” (1010), and Florent insists on wearing

Clement's old, rusty armor, stressing the idealized cooperation of different social groups and the earning of knighthood through religious combat. Thus, when Florent defeats the giant "Thorgh myght of Iesu & of Marie" (1125), it is the collective "Crystene" (1155) people who "thonkede of hys grace / The kyng of glorye ... For that vycторыe" (1155–8). While *Octavian* briefly raises the issue of conversion with Florent's subsequent acquisition of the unnamed daughter of the sultan and Clement's conversion of her to Christianity, this accomplishment merely confirms the dominance that Florent had already demonstrated in battle, for, unlike some other crusading romances, in *Octavian* Christians are never tempted to convert to Islam.

This use of crusading imagery and themes to reshape a narrative seemingly about innate nobility and various divisions within Christendom into a crusading romance that imagines collaboration and effective alliances across Christendom culminates in the final, extended battle scene where the younger Octavian leads the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem to rescue his grandfather, father, brother, and four other Christian kings from the Saracens. Somewhat ironically depicting the reverse of what European rulers ultimately failed to do – namely, rescue the Christian kings of Jerusalem from their Muslim opponents – *Octavian* adds details to this scene that change it to a victory won by crusaders. After the king of Jerusalem summons his troops, identified only as "Crystene men" (1594), by explaining how the sultan had "destruyd the Crysten all & some" (1592), the poem describes his forces' composition, which include a special group of knights who resemble Templars or holy warriors:

Of sute [retinue] they hadde [th]ousandes four
In armes also whyt as ony flowr,
Therynne a croys of reed colour,
Seynt Georgys armys.

(1609–12)

When the Saracens arrive at Acre with their prisoners, the ensuing battle continues the religious conflict implied by the knights' armor by being described as a clash between "The Crysten men & Goddys foon" (1640). After the Christian victory, the younger Octavian seems to lead this same group of 4,000 knights with "Seynt Georgys armys" when all the Christian forces return to Europe to fight the sultan, thereby aligning both of the emperor's children with the idea of being God's champion. In France the combined forces of Jerusalem, France, the Holy Roman empire, Spain, Portugal, and Navarre defeat the sultan, who tellingly raises a

"reed dragoun" (1695) banner, identifying him with the dragon that St. George killed; all the Saracens are slain so that, in a phrasing echoing Florent's earlier defeat of the giant and reinforcing the narrative pattern of loss and recovery, the "Crystene men ... quyt ... were of the Sarsyns dette" (1731-3). Furthermore, the poem ends not with the image of the reunited family's return to Rome but with the emperor staying with the king of France and "alle the kynges hende / Of Crystendome" (1767-8) in Paris in a picture of crusading unity while the sultan's severed head is sent to "greete Rome" (1770).

Octavian may not be a highly sophisticated romance, but it is misleading to say that the author "is [not] ... reshaping the story with any specific themes or perspectives in mind" and to continue to compare it unfavorably with the Northern version.⁷⁵ On the contrary, the text shows the deliberate reshaping of a pre-existing narrative through condensation and abstraction into a crusading romance; this crusading romance attempts to provide its audience with a model of past Christian triumph through alliances based on marriage and fostering and through the renewed leadership of the Holy Roman emperor, who must reclaim and preserve the property of the Roman empire. By providing its audience with a direct crusading moral as well as presenting Florent and the younger Octavian as divinely chosen champions against the Saracens, the poem confirms the expected crusading pattern of loss and recovery and fittingly addresses a late fourteenth-century Europe that, as in the text, is on the defensive. Overall *Octavian* depicts Christians of different social levels contributing to the defense of Christendom, and the poem's implicit contrast of fourteenth-century crusades against other Christians in Italy and France with this imagined use in uniting Christians against Saracens reveals how the English crusading romance continued to adapt to the period's topical interests.

THE SOWDONE OF BABYLONE: CHARLEMAGNE AND IBERIA IN THE ENGLISH IMAGINATION

While *Octavian* to a certain extent highlights the central role of the emperor as a way of organizing Christendom's defense against Saracen threats, English crusading interests in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries included areas other than *Octavian's* focus on the connection among France, Germany, and the East. In relationship to England, medieval Iberia is a largely understudied but significant crusading locale; indeed, Iberia's defining crusading project, the *reconquista*, contains the central feature

of crusade discourse, the narrative of loss and recovery, in its very name. A few popes attempted to equate crusading in Iberia with crusading to the Holy Land, but the peninsula remained in the words of one historian a “paradox” because it had “both a ‘regional’ and a ‘global’ dimension,” combining the almost exclusively local concerns of Iberian rulers with broad ecclesiastical support via taxes and military orders such as the Hospitallers.⁷⁶ Additionally, Iberia shared with England a relatively peripheral status to the rest of Christian Europe that may have contributed to sustained interaction between the two regions.

English historical involvement in and awareness of crusading in Iberia began in earnest, as discussed in the first chapter, in the middle of the twelfth century with an association of English, Norman, and other Northern crusaders assisting the Portuguese, as recorded in the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* [The conquest of Lisbon]. This group action in conjunction with Portugal repeated itself in 1189 during the Third Crusade, whereas in the fourteenth century, Henry of Grosmont, earl of Derby, and William Montague, earl of Salisbury, and some English knights aided Alfonso XI of Castile against Muslims at the siege of Algeciras in 1343 while on a diplomatic mission. Later in the fourteenth century, crusading interests blended with the Anglo-French conflict when the French constable Bertrand du Guesclin fought with the Black Prince in Castile, with each side supporting a different claimant to the throne in the late 1360s. The French acquired papal approval for crusading privileges against Pedro I of Castile, the English ally, by characterizing him as an infidel because of his supposed alliance with the Muslim rulers of Granada and Morocco. Pedro’s eventual death at the hands of the French-supported claimant and his half-brother, Enrique of Trastámara, was notable enough to be lamented by Chaucer in his *Monk’s Tale*. This conflict persisted in 1386 when, because of his marriage to Pedro’s daughter, John of Gaunt launched an unsuccessful crusade approved by the rival pope against Castile to claim the throne with Portuguese support. The link to Portugal continued in 1415 when English sailors joined João I in his crusade against Muslim-controlled Ceuta in North Africa.⁷⁷

This historical context of ongoing Anglo-Iberian aid, conflict, and material and cultural contact, which includes not only crusading against Muslims and Christians but also royal alliances and dynastic warfare, would seem to provide fertile ground for literary reflection in the English crusading romance. Yet as Robert Yeager pointedly notes, there is no “Matter of Spain” in the traditional classification of medieval romances into the Matters of Rome, France, Britain, and (sometimes) England.⁷⁸

Given the particular concentration on Iberian affairs in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries with English soldiers and crusaders fighting Muslims, Castilians, and the French, we should reconsider how English authors could have adapted existing stories associated with other regional "Matters" to discuss Iberia and contemporary crusading practices.

Charlemagne, the historical king of the Franks and early ninth-century emperor, at first appears to be an unlikely candidate for English literary representations of crusading in Iberia. However, the development of popular, fictional tales about Charlemagne and his twelve peers, typically categorized under the Matter of France – the most famous example being the twelfth-century *La chanson de Roland* – allowed the emperor's wars in Iberia and other places to be recast as crusading ventures in the later Middle Ages. When English authors began translating and adapting these tales from French sources in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, they selected a small set of texts that, as others have noted, concentrate almost exclusively on religious warfare.⁷⁹ These Middle English Charlemagne romances, divided today into the "Ferumbras," "Otinel," and "detached" groups by their principal subject and source material, have troubled scholars because their seemingly "nationalistic" French heroes appear to be at odds with the expected hostile English sentiment during the Anglo-French conflict, which is when most of them were composed.⁸⁰ For this reason, scholars have offered various explanations for their existence, arguing that the poems simply ignore the French identity of the heroes in favor of a transcendent Christian identity created through religious warfare, that they alter the source material to reduce or de-emphasize references to the French while still representing holy war, or that they ultimately promote a chivalric ethos and identity.⁸¹ Marianne Ailes and Phillipa Hardman add the possibility that "translating the texts into English could be seen as a form of cultural appropriation, echoing the English kings' claim to France," but in general they conclude that the Charlemagne sources were "adaptable for multi-purpose texts, capable of reflecting a range of contemporary anxieties and national and ecclesiastical political concerns, but also offering the ... [audience] opportunities ... to affirm and reinforce their own Christian faith."⁸² In my view, this broad adaptability of the Charlemagne tales for various religious and political concerns suits contemporary English involvement in Iberia and the English crusading romance well because, in a manner related to that of *Octavian*, some of the English versions locate peninsular conflicts within a larger context of Christendom's expansion and retraction in relation to the role of the emperor.

The image of the emperor as a unifying crusade leader who supports the expansion of Christendom and the creation of new Christian kingdoms is a key aspect of the anonymous *The Sowdone of Babylone* (c. 1400), a Middle English Charlemagne romance of nearly 3,300 lines written in four-stress lines rhyming abab and surviving in one mid-fifteenth-century manuscript. The poem, which presents Charlemagne, "That worthy kinge and emperoure" (1500), as saving Christianity from an Islamic invasion, is part of the "Ferumbras" group, which are all based to a certain extent on a version of the Old French romance *Fierabras* and which all feature the conversion of a Saracen lord and knight, Ferumbras, by Oliver, the peer second only to Roland.⁸³ However, *The Sowdone of Babylone* differs from the other poems in the group by incorporating additional beginning material translated and condensed from another poem, the *Destruction de Rome*, which tells of the Saracen capture of Rome, during which Ferumbras takes the relics of the Passion; in addition, *The Sowdone of Babylone* also imitates lines from Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* and Langland's *Piers Plowman*, thus demonstrating awareness of two of the period's most sophisticated authors.

The Sowdone of Babylone's opening invocation describes how "offences to God" (13) will result in "vengeaunces" (14), and explains that the ensuing narrative of Rome's destruction by Laban, the "Sowdan of hie Babilon" [i.e., Egypt] (30) who "Conquerede grete parte of Christianté" (31), illustrates this principle. The poem then begins with Laban dwelling in the city of "Egremoure" (719) in "Spayne" (717) when he hears that one of his ships from Babylon has been attacked and robbed by the Romans. He vows revenge and, accompanied by his son Ferumbras and his daughter Floripas, besieges Rome. After a series of skirmishes and ruses, the pope sends for aid to Charlemagne, who dispatches a relief force under Guy of Burgundy. The city falls, however, before Guy arrives; the Saracens seize the relics of Jesus' cross, crown of thorns, and nails, and ravage the countryside, with Laban promising to "distroie ... The sede over all Cristianté" (234–5) and to capture and convert Charlemagne. When Charlemagne's main army arrives, Ferumbras challenges the twelve peers. After Roland refuses to fight, Oliver, although ill, begs Charlemagne for the combat, and eventually defeats Ferumbras, who asks to be converted. The Saracens with Ferumbras then seize Oliver and Roland and lock them up in Egremoure; Floripas pities them and decides to free them, first killing her governess and the jailer and then tricking her father into letting her guard the prisoners. Charlemagne sends the remaining peers to obtain their release, and Laban imprisons them along with Roland and Oliver.

Floripas, who has been in love with the peer Guy of Burgundy without ever having seen him, becomes engaged to him in exchange for her aid. After she provides them with armor, the peers attack Laban and his men while they are eating and drive them out of the castle, which Laban then besieges with his army while cursing his daughter's betrayal and blaming his Saracen gods. After several incidental episodes involving daring rescues and repulsed assaults, the peer Richard of Normandy is sent to bring Charlemagne to the rescue. Though the traitorous Ganelon almost persuades Charlemagne to give up on the peers, Richard arrives in time. Charlemagne then travels to Egremoure, he and the peers defeat Laban, who refuses baptism and is beheaded, the relics are recovered, Floripas formally converts and marries Guy, and Charlemagne bestows "Alle the londe of Spayne" (3195) equally on Ferumbras and Guy before returning to Paris to dedicate the relics and ordering Ganelon to be hanged.

As this synopsis shows, *The Sowdone of Babylone* contains several of the family features of the crusading romance, including its narrative pattern of loss and recovery. That is, not only does the poem use the relics of the Passion (and the physical bodies of the peers themselves) as critical Christian items that are lost and then recovered from the Saracens, but it also frames its narrative of defeat and punishment (i.e., the loss of Rome) and of revenge and conquest (i.e., the victory over Laban and the capture of Iberia) with an eschatological view of Christians' loss of God's "grace" (12) by original sin and their earning of heavenly reward, which brings their "soules to goode reste" (3271), by worthy deeds against the Saracens.⁸⁴ This struggle for salvation and the regaining of spiritual goods is combined with military campaigns against Saracens and threats of conversion to both religions. While *The Sowdone of Babylone* does not discuss the mechanism of the crusading indulgence directly, nevertheless when the pope resolves to lead an attack on the Saracens, he displays "The hie baner of Rome, / And he assoiled every man / Through gracious God in dome" (476–8), thereby linking crusading's concept of meritorious combat to Charlemagne's subsequent defense and "reskue" of "Cristianté" (374). Miraculous occurrences demonstrate divine support for the Christian warriors, such as Charlemagne's prayer to God to "graunte Thy man the victorie, / And the paynym skomfited to be" (1319–20) during Oliver's combat with Ferumbras, after which an angel appears to perform his request. Moreover, when Charlemagne later calls his campaign to rescue the peers a "viage" (2846), the term can simply mean a journey, but in Middle English usage, as seen in Clanvowe's *The Two Ways*, it could also connote a pilgrimage or crusading warfare, thus presenting the capture of

Iberia as a crusading conquest that must be repeated and completed by contemporaries.⁸⁵ In addition, threats and promises of conversion occur frequently in the poem, with the failed conversion of the sultan and the actual conversion of his children, Ferumbras and Floripas, to Christianity, as well as the threatened conversion of Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver to Islam functioning to certify notions of Christian superiority and rightful rule over Iberia. Finally, the crusading confrontation with the sultan, who is “born in Askalon” (32) in the Holy Land and whose forces include “Babyloynes” [Egyptians] (499), “Assaynez” [Asians] (497), and “Ethiopes and Aufricanes” (257), addresses the continuing importance of Mamluk Egypt in some late fourteenth-century crusading thought, since Egypt still controlled the lost kingdom of Jerusalem, even as the presence of giant “Aufricanes” in the sultan’s host and the Christian conquest of “the brode londe of Spayn” (3262) gesture toward English claims to Castile and involvement with the Portuguese expedition to Africa.⁸⁶

As a crusading romance, *The Sowdone of Babylone* does not directly refer to historical crusade campaigns such as the English crusade against Castile or the Portuguese crusade against Ceuta, though these events affect the poem’s context and reception. Instead, its revision of French or Anglo-Norman sources allows *The Sowdone of Babylone* to reflect broadly on English involvement in Iberia and, in contrast to the divisive effects of the Anglo-French conflict in the peninsula, to support the *reconquista* by representing the legitimacy of Christian rule through marital and martial claims and through crusading cooperation against Muslim opponents. As mentioned previously, Philippe de Mézières’s use of allegory and allusions to literary heroes such as Charlemagne and Roland in his joint crusading plan for England and France demonstrates how crusading texts could employ abstract narratives to symbolize contemporary problems. *The Sowdone of Babylone*, as with *Octavian*, utilizes a method comparable to Philippe’s allegory of the two kings, Malavisé and Vigilant, particularly since for Philippe the purpose of Malavisé’s representing “the Emperor ... and all other Christian kings” and Vigilant’s signifying “the Sultan of Babylon” is to explicate the Christian claim to the Holy Land; in the poem Charlemagne, the emperor, defeats the sultan of Babylon himself in order to claim Iberia for Christianity.⁸⁷ Likewise, as with Philippe’s plan, in *The Sowdone of Babylone* Christian rule of Iberia will only result from private crusading to a limited extent, such as Oliver’s conversion of Ferumbras through single combat or the peers’ resisting of the sultan till Charlemagne’s army arrives. Rather, victory will be achieved primarily through coordinated holy warfare that locates Christian claims

to rule above internal disputes. This view is most evident in the scenes where Floripas aids the peers, where Ganelon betrays the peers and then Charlemagne in order to advance his own position, and where Ferumbras rescues the emperor and attacks his father, all of which reject internal division by contrasting it with the loyalty of allies and all of which evoke aspects of Anglo-Iberian relations in the late fourteenth century. As a literary text shaped by accretions over time, *The Sowdone of Babylone* is not reducible to one historical event; nonetheless, several of the romance's crusading concerns and relevance for a contemporary English audience can be highlighted via an examination of John of Gaunt's crusade.

John of Gaunt's crusade against Castile in 1386–7 was the culmination and termination of a longer claim to the throne.⁸⁸ Because of the duke of Lancaster's marriage to Pedro I of Castile's daughter Constance, Gaunt had a legitimate claim after Pedro's death that at least in one English literary text was associated with Charlemagne. Chaucer's description of Pedro's death in his *Monk's Tale* calls Pedro the "glorie of Spayne" (2375) and blames his death on the "subtiltee" (2379) and betrayal of the French and of his half-brother Henry. Chaucer specifically identifies the knight Oliver de Mauny of "Armorike" [Armorica, or Brittany] (2388) not as "Charles Olyver" [Charlemagne's Oliver] (2387) but as "Genylon-Olyver" [a Ganelon-Oliver] (2389), using the noble reputation of Charlemagne's peer to contrast unfavorably with the traitorous, Ganelon-like behavior of this contemporary Oliver, who betrayed Pedro. Though *The Sowdone of Babylone* shows no knowledge of the *Monk's Tale* specifically, its echoes of Chaucer's *General Prologue* and *Knight's Tale* suggest that references to Charlemagne and his peers may have been viewed by some audiences as connected to Anglo-Iberian affairs and to Gaunt's claim in particular.⁸⁹

In this respect, John of Gaunt's involvement with Castile – a claim of kingship through marriage that includes crusading – shares some broad similarities with Guy of Burgundy's rule over half of Iberia via his marriage to Floripas at the conclusion of *The Sowdone of Babylone*. In general, Gaunt's claim and campaign were more than just a distraction during the Anglo-French conflict; instead, his combination of the issues of crusading and legitimate rule created an opportunity for English authors to refashion tales of Charlemagne in Iberia in order to reflect on peninsular troubles and their larger implications for European affairs. Beginning in 1372, Gaunt held a Castilian court in exile and even had an official seal and a chancery and minted royal coins, thus increasing awareness of Iberia in England.⁹⁰ Subsequently, Castilian ships raided England's southern coast as allies of the French in 1377, emphasizing the danger of this "usurping" ruler to the

English population.⁹¹ As English chronicle accounts show, in 1386 Richard II began to treat Gaunt as a fellow king before the launch of his crusade, publicly confirming Gaunt's status and giving him a crown to use in his coronation in Castile.⁹² Gaunt presented himself as Castile's rightful king after arriving in Iberia, choosing Galicia in the northwest for his landing, where one of his first actions was to take over the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela, a saint known as *Matamoros* [Moor-slayer] and popular with English pilgrims. Due to his limited forces, Gaunt was compelled to rely on his alliance with João I of Portugal, who married Gaunt's daughter Philippa, and they jointly invaded Castile, though desertion and disease quickly ended the campaign. Gaunt resigned his claim to Juan I of Castile in exchange for large monetary payments and the marriage of his daughter Catherine to Juan's son Enrique.

Though Gaunt had neither the forces nor the resources to become king of Castile, his Iberian crusade encouraged continued relations between England and Portugal via the Treaty of Windsor in 1386, a mutual aid treaty still in effect today, which was supported by the marriage of Gaunt's daughter to João I.⁹³ Part of Gaunt's conception of his right to rule in Iberia may be seen in his conquest of St. James's shrine; since the time of Alfonso XI the saint's effigy was used to confirm the king of Castile, but the saint's title of *Matamoros* also suggests the crusading obligation of Iberian rulers.⁹⁴ Gaunt may have desired to renew the crusade against Muslim Granada, which had not been a priority of Castilian rulers since the siege of Algeciras earlier in the century.⁹⁵ Although it was ultimately unsuccessful, English chroniclers did not decry Gaunt's crusade, viewing his settlement in the face of disease and desertion as the best possible outcome.⁹⁶ Anglo-Iberian interactions continued beyond the crusade when in 1389 Richard II, following the Roman pope Boniface XI's excommunication of Castile, prohibited travel to Spain and decreed the Castilians schismatics, though English pilgrimage to Compostela soon resumed and continued in significant numbers throughout the early fifteenth century.⁹⁷ The close relationship with Portugal persisted when in 1415, as Walsingham records, João I, "relying especially upon the help of English merchants and the Germans," attacked the "Saracens" in Morocco and took "a very large town ... in their tongue called 'Ceuta'," sending "many thousands of the heathen" to hell.⁹⁸ The Anglo-Portuguese relationship even produced a Portuguese literary legend, "Os Doze de Inglaterra" [The twelve of England], found in a manuscript known as the *Cavalarias de Alguns Fidalgos Portugueses*, in which twelve Portuguese knights travel to England at the request of John of Gaunt to joust with twelve English knights who have insulted the

honor of twelve ladies attending Gaunt's daughter, the Portuguese queen Philippa.⁹⁹ Hence, while some historians tend to view Gaunt's crusade as, in the words of Christopher Tyerman, "a personal enterprise," with "[t]he comparative lack of chronicle attention suggest[ing that] it made much less of an impact in England than Despenser's crusade," this position overlooks the ways in which Gaunt's claim and crusade renewed English interest in Iberia and help to contextualize the focus on Charlemagne's Iberian campaigns in English writing.¹⁰⁰

Gaunt's claim to the throne of Castile through marriage and the marriage alliances with the kings of Portugal and Castile through his daughters all contributed to what Jennifer Goodwin Wollock calls "an Anglo-Iberian chivalry of the imagination," in which "Iberia is associated with crusading warfare and opportunities for combat against Moslem opponents," with "the imaginary remain[ing] in constant interaction with the factual."¹⁰¹ The diplomatic use of Gaunt's daughters and their subsequently ambiguous, mediatory involvement in Anglo-Iberian relations is paralleled in *The Sowdone of Babylone's* depiction of Floripas, the sultan's daughter, and her contrivance of her marriage to Guy when assisting the peers in Egremoure.¹⁰² As scholars have noted, Floripas is a surprisingly active character in nearly all versions of the "Ferumbras" tales; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, commenting on the French poem *Fierabras*, argues that Floripas is "both the frontier of cultural conflict and the fertile ground that gives rise to a Christian Self that incorporates the Muslim Other," and this view applies equally well to *The Sowdone of Babylone*.¹⁰³ In contrast to other crusading romances such as *Sir Isumbras*, which threatens the forced marriage of a Christian woman to a Saracen ruler only to reject any such mixing, or *Octavian*, in which the conversion and marriage of the nameless sultan's daughter to Florent and her aid in stealing the sultan's horse are secondary to the crusading combat, Floripas's role and marriage are central to the Christian conquest of Iberia. Through her combination of shrewd "counsaile" (1519), physical "helpe" (1867), and emotional engagement, Floripas represents in imaginary form not only the historical crusading issue of conversion or coexistence in the *reconquista* – a topic also addressed in the prior conversion of her brother Ferumbras through combat – but also the amalgamating role of "foreign" queens, whose knowledge and advice maintain the alliances that allow crusading to expand and defend Christendom.

In her first real appearance in the poem Floripas corrects her father's premature granting of her to Lukafer, a Saracen king who promises to capture Charlemagne and the twelve peers. Although the poem provides

no direct insight into her motivation here, Floripas's advice, while seemingly intended to preserve her father's honor against his rash decision, pejoratively describes Lukafer's promise as an "easy brayde" [idle boasting] (247). Additionally, her revision of her father's "graunte" (243) of her to Lukafer to her statement, "I graunte to be his derlynge" (250) when he actually captures Charlemagne and the peers, alters the hypothetical marriage to include her own desire, thus foreshadowing her later independent "granting" of herself to Guy without the sultan's permission. Throughout the poem Floripas's counsel functions in a similarly ambiguous manner, containing both a publicly stated and a private purpose that highlight her location as a point of potential negotiation between Saracen and Christian culture. Having demonstrated this same advisory function when she persuades her father not to execute Roland and Oliver but to use them to exchange for Ferumbas, Floripas then demonstrates her compassion when she overhears Roland and Oliver lamenting in prison and "rued on hem anoon ful sore" (1561). When neither her governess nor the jailer will assist her in feeding the suffering prisoners, she personally kills them and then accuses the dead jailer of having plotted to free the prisoners so that her father grants her custody. Similarly, her intercession saves the remaining peers when they arrive to deliver Charlemagne's message to the sultan; reunited, the peers tell one another how they survived "By helpe of mayde Florip hireself" (1867), stressing their indebtedness to her clever arguments and actions.

Until she secures the twelve peers in her tower and treats them as proper aristocratic prisoners with good food, wine, and baths, Floripas acts largely as the stereotypical Christian fantasy of the beautiful Saracen princess who offers her sympathy and aid to the Christian heroes. However, this role undergoes a significant shift when she reveals her love for Guy of Burgundy, whom she has "loved many a day" (1891) without ever having seen him. Though in terms of the crusading narrative she must convert in order to marry Guy and justify Christian claims to Iberia, Floripas nonetheless uses the same kind of ambiguous "counsaille" (1952) she employed with her father to bargain the prospect of her conversion and the peers' safety for Guy:

For his love wille I cristenede be
 And lefe Mahoundes laye
 ...
 And but he wole graunte me his love,
 Of you askape shalle none here.

(1895–900)

Floripas's clearly stated threat that none of the peers will escape unless Guy marries her – one reiterated by the peers themselves as they try to convince Guy – upsets the escalating sequence of her betrayals of Saracen culture and of her father that seem to define her as Christian in all but name. While *The Sowdone of Babylone* or the English crusading romance in general never attributes any real validity to its distorted depictions of Muslim culture, this critical moment in the poem illustrates how the Christian conquest of Iberia can only occur through a mediation, albeit a limited one, of both cultures via Floripas's status as future converted queen. That is, although the peers "[a]t the laste" (1924) override Guy's protest that he "wole ... never have" (1910) Floripas or any woman except one given to him by Charlemagne, the triumph of the Saracen princess's desire over that of the Christian peer Guy remains notable, especially since their betrothal is confirmed by a toast in, as Floripas says, the "gyse ... of my londe" (1932, my emphasis).

In historical terms, this scene is analogous to the position of John of Gaunt's daughters Philippa and Catherine (or Catalina), both married to different Iberian rulers as the result of a crusade, while Gaunt, like Charlemagne, returned home. Though it is unlikely that Gaunt's daughters had much personal choice in their marriages, their ensuing dual role as intermediaries for English diplomatic and cultural influence as well as highly scrutinized foreigners adapting to local customs indicates why Floripas's counsel and bargaining about marriage and conversion are given such stress in the poem. One English chronicle records the "conversion" pressure that could be put on a foreign queen in a different culture resulting from Gaunt's daughters' marriages. In 1393 Catherine, married to Enrique III of Castile, was the subject of a plot to force her to abandon her allegiance to the English-supported Roman pope in favor of the Castilian-supported pope at Avignon.¹⁰⁴ Though this deceit was soon discovered and the culprits imprisoned, this attempted "conversion" of Catherine to render her a more acceptable queen emphasizes religious conformity in intercultural marriages in a way similar to *The Sowdone of Babylone*, where the peers' acquisition of "armure" (1953), then the "castel" (1950), and finally the "londe of Spayne" (3195) becomes an exchange for Floripas's promised baptism and marriage.¹⁰⁵ After Floripas's allegiance to the peers is revealed, her father's repeated denigration of her as a "stronge hore" [great whore] (2125, 2223) and her insulting of the sultan as a "fals tyraunte" (2216) and "cursed myscreaunte" [cursed infidel] (2218) confirm how English representations of crusading in Iberia use marriage and conversion to fashion political claims.

The Sowdone of Babylone contrasts this creation of legitimate political claims through Floripas's conversion with the behavior of the traitorous Ganelon, familiar from other tales of Charlemagne, who, though not as central a character as Floripas or Ferumbras, betrays the emperor twice, each time proposing courses of action that ignore or deny crusading activity in favor of personal gain. Ganelon's first betrayal occurs when Charlemagne is waiting for news of the peers, who are besieged in Egremoure; Ganelon "counseiled Charles for his honoure / To turne homewarde ageyn" (2821–2), saying that he spends his "goode in vayne" (2824) and that the peers are "alle dede" (2823). While this advice may seem reasonable to the modern reader, in this crusading romance Ganelon's counsel is false, or what Philippe de Mézières would describe as "Malavise" [ill-advised], because it values material and local concerns – Charlemagne's goods and honor – above loyalty to the peers and above Charlemagne's crusading responsibility to defeat the sultan. Subsequently, when Charlemagne becomes trapped behind the walls of Mauntribe on the "viage" (2846) to Egremoure, Ganelon again illustrates this distinction between Christendom's internal divisions and its unifying crusading alliances, for he tells the soldiers that "The Kinge is dede / And all twelfe peres eke" (2972–3), so that they should "hye to Fraunce warde. / For I wele be crownede kinge" (2975–6). Ganelon's repeated desire to return to France, now coupled with his own illegitimate claim to kingship, represents one of the principal threats to Christendom for the poem in conjunction with the Saracen invasion. This threat's significance becomes apparent when Ganelon persuades all "[t]he Frenssh men" (2981) to cease the assault and abandon Charlemagne. Only when "Ferumbras with his meyné" [personal retinue] (2983) arrives and tells the soldiers to "help to reskow thy lorde" (2992) do they resume the attack. Ferumbras's ensuing heroic rescue of Charlemagne, where he breaks down the gate and wins the city, demonstrates the efficacy of crusading conversion and alliances in the conquest of Iberia.¹⁰⁶

This narrative pairing of Ganelon and Ferumbras, or as Philippe would describe it, the choice between "the road to noisesome Hell" (i.e., internal Christian warfare) and "the way to Paradise" (i.e., joint crusading), extends to the romance's final scenes where Ganelon is replaced by the shared rule and alliance of Guy and Ferumbras over Iberia while the sultan is executed for refusing to convert.¹⁰⁷ As the army approaches Egremoure, Ferumbras continues to represent the utility of crusading alliances in achieving conquest, as it is both his and Charlemagne's "baners" (3088) that Floripas sees as signs of rescue. Moreover, after Charlemagne captures Laban in battle

and is about to kill him, it is Ferumbras who begs for Charlemagne "[t]o crysten" (3114) his father instead, again raising the possibility of crusading victory through conversion, though the sultan's refusal causes Ferumbras to agree to his execution, "[f]or he loveth not Cristyanté" (3182). The sultan's potential conversion is replaced with Floripas's baptism and marriage to Guy, which then results in the division of Iberia into two allied kingdoms by Charlemagne:

Alle the londe of Spayne
 Kinge Charles gyfe hem two
 To departe bitwyxt hem twayne,
 Ferumbras and Gy also.
 And so thay livede in joye and game,
 And brethern both thay ware.
 In pees and werre both i-same,
 There durste no man hem dere.

(3195–202)

Guy and Ferumbras's new status as "brethern" in "pees and werre," bound by shared religion and marital alliance, presents to the poem's English audience an idealized version of crusading goals and success in Iberia that also establishes a precedent for contemporary Christian claims. John of Gaunt's own marriage and the marriage of his daughters to two major Iberian rulers raised English awareness of Iberian affairs in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and linked those concerns to crusading's potential use against Muslims or against Christians. When Charlemagne tells Guy and Ferumbras "Be ye togeder as brethrn both ... Be ye never togedere wroth / But eyther helpe othir at his nede" (3215–18), *The Sowdone of Babylone* employs its fictional portrayal of past Christian unity and alliances to present the idea of a "foreign" Iberian king positively and to oppose the idea of contemporary Christians becoming, in Chaucer's words, a "Genylon-Olyver" rather than a "Charles Olyver."

Overall *The Sowdone of Babylone* marks a significant development in the English crusading romance for its interest in Iberia and for its attention to the political effects of conversion rather than, as in *Sir Isumbras*, their more personal or individual aspects. While the poem's largely derivative narrative has tended to obscure this shift in English crusading thought, its combination of conversion, the loss and recovery of relics of Jesus' crucifixion, and the defense and expansion of Christendom promotes the holy warfare strand of crusade discourse as a way of resolving or avoiding conflict among Christians in the *reconquista*. However, since the crusading activity in the poem depends on Charlemagne, the king of France and

Holy Roman emperor, *The Sowdone of Babylone* shares with *Octavian* the notion that a central authority figure is necessary for Christian expansion. As Akbari points out, “The physical movement of the relics ... is also a transfer of authority from Peter to Charlemagne, from Rome to the Holy Roman Empire,” and this transfer is affirmed in the poem’s concluding lines, which summarize how:¹⁰⁸

Thus Charles conquered Laban,
The Sowdan of Babyloyn,
That riche Rome stroyed and wan
And all the brode londe of Spayn.

(3259–62)

The positioning of Laban’s destruction and capture of Rome in between Charlemagne’s conquest of the sultan of Egypt and the “brode londe of Spayn” maintains the focus on Iberia and the East while leaving Rome imaginatively still in ruins. Thus, in the poem’s version of crusading, Rome may not be – or perhaps never was – as important as the military action and alliances of Christian rulers. Ultimately, while it is unlikely that *The Sowdone of Babylone* was intended to inspire a new crusade campaign to Iberia, we should not discount entirely the possible effects of abstract narratives such as this one on fifteenth-century English crusading activity, as in the conquest of Ceuta. Perhaps the poem contains a veiled hint regarding this manner of reading crusading narratives when, after his initial victory over the sultan’s forces, Charlemagne addresses the “yonge” (921) knights, asking them to keep in their “memorye” (922) the behavior of the “oolde” (928) knights and the “ensample of the Twelfe Peris” (931), who seek to win “honourys in righte” [just honors] (934) by taming “hethen houndes” (935); this appeal to remember the “ensample” of the past may explain why an English text would retell the story of Charlemagne’s Iberian conquest in the midst of the Anglo-French conflict.

THE CRUSADING ROMANCE’S EXPANSION AND LOCALIZATION

Octavian and *The Sowdone of Babylone* demonstrate English narrative interest in crusading locations beyond the Holy Land; in this respect, they correspond to other contemporary writing that found crusading’s historical diversity useful for constructing a literary argument. For instance, the portrait of Chaucer’s Knight in the late fourteenth-century *General Prologue* to *The Canterbury Tales* has been discussed frequently by historians and literary scholars alike because its account of the Knight’s

“viage” (77) in “cristendom as in hethenesse” (49) refers to several of the crusading campaigns in which contemporary English knights participated, including Algeciras, Granada, Morocco, Prussia, and Alexandria.¹⁰⁹ Though Chaucer’s text is not a crusading romance, his treatment of the figure of the English crusading knight is instructive because it is both topical – English crusading activity did occur (or was occurring) in Iberia, Africa, the Baltic, and the eastern Mediterranean – and abstract, since the Knight’s portrait, in keeping with the *General Prologue*’s critical purpose, serves as a model for the “verray, parfit gentil knyght” (72) beyond its Ricardian context. In this respect, Chaucer was no different from the group of other English authors who drew upon earlier texts, English crusading romances such as *Richard Cœur de Lion* and *Sir Isumbras* as well as French sources, in order to address contemporary crusading thought and practices. Rather than viewing the various concerns facing fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England – such as the Anglo-French conflict, the Schism, and Lollardy – as displacing crusading interest, we should instead consider how the English crusading romance’s narrative pattern and set of features allowed it to adapt along with shifts in historical crusading activity even as it occasionally disputed or revised those practices in an imaginative setting.

Evidence of the continued effects of the English crusading romances can be seen in a fictitious letter written around 1436 and circulated in England from the “Souden of alle Surry, Emperour of Babilon” to Henry VI, of which several copies survive.¹¹⁰ In the letter, which repeatedly calls attention to the sultan’s status as ruler of Babylon or Egypt (i.e., including the Holy Land), the sultan claims to have thirty-seven “of youre cristen kynges” under his lordship as well as “the holi cros” on which Jesus died. Yet this sultan, astonishingly, was “cristen” and “in Englund born,” though he had to flee to Rome “for certeyn poyntes of lollerdy” and eventually traveled to the East, where he converted to Islam and married the former sultan’s widow and then the emperor’s daughter, thereby inheriting the empire. The rule of a Saracen empire by an Englishman – albeit a “heretical” Lollard – via conversion and marriage indicates the currency of these ideas in crusade discourse, but the sultan’s subsequent offer to Henry of his daughter in marriage, of gold and all the relics he possesses, and of his own (re)conversion to Christianity, which will elevate Henry to become “Emperour” of the thirty-seven Christian kings (including France, Spain, and Portugal), illustrates how English authors continued to discuss political and religious issues within crusading narrative’s structure of loss and recovery, however fantastical this example may be. Lesley Coote

describes the versions of this letter as “positive royal propaganda” that bear some similarities with European crusade letters – invented letters from Saracen rulers threatening Christendom – and with the Middle English Charlemagne romances, though she concludes that the English letters express a “political ideology ... both apocalyptic and prophetic” that was especially relevant for the historical circumstances of medieval England.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, in my view the letter’s linking of the proposed marriage and conversion to Christian political claims and the transfer of relics suggests the broader influence of crusading romances such as *Octavian* and especially *The Sowdone of Babylone*, in which the combination of relics, conversion, marriage to a sultan’s daughter, and the role of the Christian emperor form a powerful correspondence.

In contrast to the early crusading romances’ exclusive concentration on the Holy Land, in late medieval England the genre became more expansive while still remaining coherent. This alteration resulted in part from the changing conditions and locations of crusading activity and in part from new variations in crusade discourse, as found in the writing of Philippe de Mézières, which joined odd parables with pointed political advice and grand military plans, and in the life and writing of John Clanvowe, which reconfigured knightly values in favor of individual crusading and the imitation of Jesus. These later crusading romances further develop the contrast in *Sir Isumbras* and *Richard Cœur de Lion* between private crusading and holy warfare, in some instances favoring one strand over the other and in some cases blending the two. *Octavian* employs its narrative of the dispersed fostering of children as a way of portraying the alliances among various crusading powers that helped to establish Christendom, and whereas *The Sowdone of Babylone* shares *Octavian*’s interest in the relationship between holy warfare and the origins of Christian political power, a significant portion of the poem is also invested in personal conversion, as shown through the attention paid to the conversions of Ferumbras and Floripas in relation to English interests in Iberia. Together these poems demonstrate how the crusading romance continued to wrestle with some of the central issues in crusade discourse, such as the role of conversion, the question of leadership, and the relationship of individual crusading to large-scale warfare. Yet part of the ideological work of these romances seems designed to counterbalance this broadening of geographical focus with a homogenizing of opposing forces; that is, in these poems Christendom is depicted as under threat from powerful Saracens everywhere, and not, as was historically the case, divided against itself. Still, the appreciably different pictures of crusading success and strategy

in *Octavian* and *The Sowdone of Babylone* speak more to the continued vitality of and variation in crusading practices – and their treatment in the English imagination – than to any significant decline or disenchantment. As we shall see in the next chapter, it would take a dramatic event such as the English Reformation to displace the crusading romance, though even this religious rupture could not eradicate the genre's influence on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English writing.

CHAPTER 4

Refiguring Catholic and Turk *Early modern literatures of crusading and the end of* *the crusading romance*

[I]t is more accurate to say that what Renaissance Europeans confronted was not really the problem of Islam at all but rather the problem of the crusade ... The crusade [that humanists] advocated would serve as an instrument of internal reform, one which would revive Christendom, restore the European political economy, and reinstate Rome at its proper place at the center of both.

Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam*¹

I urged Your Highnesses [i.e., Ferdinand and Isabella of Aragon and Castile] to spend all the profits of this my enterprise on the conquest of Jerusalem.

Christopher Columbus, 26 December 1492²

The previous chapter examined how the localization of crusading activity to different spheres in the late Middle Ages prompted not decay but a transformation in the English crusading romance to reflect upon English interests in the eastern Mediterranean and Iberia. This final chapter turns from the late medieval to the early modern period, a transition that marks a dramatic decline in actual English crusading activity, which has been generally understood and acknowledged, and a continuity in crusading narrative patterns and thought, which has not. Building upon the sense of the richness, diversity, and adaptability of the medieval crusading tradition in stories and discourse revealed in previous sections, this chapter aims to uncover some enduring links between holy war and personal salvation in English writing in a way that undermines the neat separation of the so-called barbaric past from an enlightened Europe, of the medieval from modernity. My approach here is in keeping with some recent scholarship that has stressed the problems and limitations of strict periodization between the medieval and early modern periods.³ Incorporating crusading investments into this ideologically fraught historical divide potentially will promote further interdisciplinary study across period

boundaries. Moreover, while we should acknowledge the innovations of English authors in new media and under Protestant regimes in the early modern era, attending to the persistence of the medieval tradition will not only offer an alternative explanatory framework for scholars dissatisfied with Orientalism's account of English attitudes toward the Turks or with the more general study of alterity, but also will make evidence of English interest in maintaining a connection to their crusading past and to the early modern crusading present more visible to historians and literary scholars.⁴

This chapter begins with an overview of the changes and continuities in crusading practices and discourse as well as in the crusading romance between the medieval and early modern periods. It then offer a series of brief, illustrative studies of the use of crusading narrative structures in poetry and drama in early modern England with a particular focus on the late sixteenth century. Some of these texts have received relatively little scholarly attention, such as the poem *Lepanto* (1585) by James VI of Scotland (later James I of England, hereafter James I), and Thomas Heywood's play *The Four Prentices of London, with the Conquest of Jerusalem* (c. 1592); others have received renewed attention recently in terms of their representation of Islam or the Turks, such as the two parts of Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587–90), Book I of Edmund Spenser's romance *The Faerie Queene* (1590), and William Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice* (1604). All of these texts incorporate significant features of the medieval crusading romance, and thus address concerns for early modern England similar to those confronting medieval audiences: the challenges facing associational action across Christendom, the individual's pursuit of salvation, the possibility and threat of conversion, the legitimacy of political claims, or the need for reform of morals and practices. The chapter then concludes by discussing the two principal examples of original English historical writing about the crusades in this period, Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) and Thomas Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639). While Knolles and Fuller appear to express oppositional views about crusading's relationship to early modern England – the former presents the struggle against the Turks as continuous with the medieval past, the latter locates the end of the “holy warre” at the loss of Acre in 1291 – their shared hostility toward the Turks and hope that Christians eventually will recover their lost lands demonstrate how crusade discourse continued to influence historical as well as literary narrative.

However, just as the medieval romances studied in previous chapters varied in how they represented crusading – *Richard Cœur de Lion* revises an actual historical event, the Third Crusade, to address larger problems, while *Sir Isumbras* treats general issues by concretizing them in a relatively simple narrative with symbolic or allegorical import, as elucidated by Philippe de Mézières's parable of the two kings in his *Epistre au Roi Richart* – so too the early modern literary texts and histories vary in how they adopt and adapt the crusading tradition. James I's *Lepanto* and Heywood's *The Four Prentices* explicitly discuss historical crusade campaigns, while Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Spenser's Book I, and Shakespeare's *Othello* mainly invent narratives of religious conflict to comment on crusading indirectly. By examining these literary texts along with the use of crusading thought in historical writing, especially that of Knolles and Fuller, as well as in the context of the ongoing production of crusading texts from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth century, we can revise our conception of crusading's appeal to the early modern English imagination rather than relying on Elizabethan polemic. Because several editions of anonymous medieval romances and early modern plays and in some cases entire stories and plays themselves have been lost, we have difficulty acquiring a complete picture of what English audiences read and heard and how chains of influence functioned.⁵ Currently valuable studies on England and Islam continue to explore how empire, trade, race, and conversion affected English constructions of identity as well as fear and intolerance of Islamic powers, yet they overlook the ways in which English authors and audiences demonstrated sympathy for and understanding of crusading even after the crusading romance ended as a coherent genre.⁶

In the end, even though seemingly staunch Protestant authors such as James I, Spenser, and Fuller express adverse or hostile views on Catholic crusading ideology and practices, they, along with more neutral Marlowe, Heywood, Shakespeare, and Knolles, cannot escape the implications of the crusading romance's features through anxious attempts to control meaning or audience reception. The influence of this medieval tradition of crusading thought results in a decided ambivalence that celebrates crusading triumphs and longs for united Christian action even as it condemns the pope and the abuse of indulgences. As this book has argued throughout, crusading comprises both a set of experiential practices and a narrative framework loosely channeling those practices; the evidence from early modern narratives shows that, contrary to our expectations, English crusading ends not at the beginning of modernity but well into the seventeenth century.

FROM LATE MEDIEVAL TO EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

From the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century, Europe in general and England in particular experienced several major changes that are used to support the separation of the medieval from the early modern period: the exploration of the Americas along with the development of new trade routes to the East; the invention of the printing press and a corresponding increase in vernacular literacy; the intellectual movement known as humanism's renewed interest in classical texts and rhetoric; the rise of the Ottoman Turks as the pre-eminent military power, putting Christian Europe on the defensive; and the religious upheaval of the Protestant Reformation, which, by rejecting the authority of the papacy and the crusading indulgence, among other things, had obvious consequences for England's relationship with other European powers and with crusading.⁷ While these changes undoubtedly affected English political and literary thought about crusading significantly – one notable example is the Spanish Armada of 1588, a crusade campaign against the excommunicated Protestant English queen, Elizabeth I – the scholarly stress on these changes has tended to obscure some key continuities in English writing about crusading in the early modern period. That is, our understanding of this historical transition has a propensity to prioritize the idea of a radical break with the past often expressed by English intellectuals and government officials at the expense of the more gradual, evolving development found in popular traditions and the literary imagination.

Of course, there is some reason for associating crusading with medieval England: direct English involvement in crusading practices seriously declined in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially as crusading activity in general became almost exclusively dependent upon government support, which was seldom forthcoming. While the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 made a considerable impact across Europe, it resulted only in a financially successful preaching campaign in England that kept awareness of the need for crusading action alive without any subsequent military engagement.⁸ This pattern of English financial contribution continued throughout the fifteenth century, with a total of twelve preaching campaigns offering indulgences against the Turks between 1444 and 1502.⁹ Opportunities for large-scale military action, however, were few, partly because of distrust among Christian powers and partly because the responsibility of fighting the Turks defaulted on to the powers immediately confronting them: Hungary, Poland, the Holy Roman empire, Venice, the Hospitallers, and to a certain extent Spain, which often formed temporary

leagues for a specific, restricted purpose.¹⁰ In 1511, for example, an English expedition led by Lord Darcy against the Moors in North Africa in support of the Spanish failed because of infighting.¹¹ A year later Pope Julius II granted Henry VIII's war against the French crusading status.¹² In 1536, after Henry VIII's break with Rome, the English rebels against Henry in the so-called Pilgrimage of Grace wore the crusading badges from the 1511 expedition, and were intensely questioned on their intentions by royal authorities after the rebellion's failure.¹³ Nonetheless, until the military order was dissolved in England in 1540, the largest English participation in crusading activity in this period occurred through the Hospitallers, who mainly conducted naval raids against the Turks in the Mediterranean.¹⁴ While there were a few examples of individual crusading as well, such as the English volunteers at Ferdinand and Isabella's attacks on Muslim Granada in Iberia in the 1480s and early 1490s, the presence of Thomas Stukeley, the English Catholic mercenary, at the naval battle of Lepanto against the Turks in 1571, or other English volunteers fighting the Turks in Hungary around the beginning of the seventeenth century, for the most part English involvement in the practices of crusading had faded, though imaginative and cultural engagement did not.¹⁵

Crusade historians now agree that this decline in activity does not signal an absence of interest in England; as Norman Housley explains, "The crusade was carried into the sixteenth century as a factor in people's lives. For some, such as the English and the Scots, its relevance was above all aspirational and cultural."¹⁶ Christopher Tyerman concurs, noting that "There is no evidence that the crusade or genuine crusade indulgences were unpopular in early sixteenth-century England," and that for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries "the crusade continued to address some of the most prominent and contentious political issues of the day" so that "elements of the ideal persisted, even when the formal apparatus had been abandoned in Tudor England."¹⁷ Rather than simply observing the deteriorating numbers of combatants, this broader understanding of what crusading meant to the English populace requires us to take their stated views about political action and religious struggle, however bigoted, seriously.

In fact, the major changes often used to define the early modern period – the Reformation, print, the might of the Turks, exploration, and humanism – influenced and to some extent were shaped by crusading in a way that calls attention to crusading's lasting narrative power. England's religious change was arguably the result of a minority of vocal reformers, since, as historians such as Eamon Duffy have argued, "late medieval Catholicism exerted an enormously strong, diverse, and vigorous hold

over the imagination and the loyalty of the people up to the very moment of Reformation,” and it continued to exercise a powerful influence on local worship despite governmental and episcopal pressures throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁸ Some of crusading’s continued appeal in England before the Reformation is evident in c. 1518–20 when an anonymous author compiled an English-focused history of the crusades in English in response to Henry VIII’s interest in the pope’s plan for a crusade campaign; the text includes the history of Robert II of Normandy and Godfrey of Bouillon from the First Crusade, of Richard I from the Third Crusade, of Edward I’s expedition while still a prince in 1270–2, and a translation of an early fourteenth-century recovery treatise, all intended to aid the recovery of the Holy Land.¹⁹ Similarly, around 1531 a prophecy circulated predicting that an English king would recover Jerusalem.²⁰ After the Reformation had taken hold, this sympathy for crusading and the fate of Christendom at large is evinced by the prayers for victory and then of thanksgiving that were offered in the churches of Protestant England for the defense of Malta in 1565, the defeat of the Turks in Hungary in 1566, and again at Lepanto in 1571; the news of Lepanto even produced celebratory bonfires in London.²¹ Even notably Protestant, anti-Catholic reformers could favor crusading’s holy warfare against the Turks while they denied the pope’s authority. For instance, in the second, expanded edition of the influential *Actes and Monumentes* (1570) by John Foxe, the Protestant martyrologist – the edition supposed to be placed in all cathedral churches in England and which was also purchased by many parish churches – Foxe added a section called “The Origine and historye of the Turkes” that, despite occasional references to sinful Catholic images, promotes Christian unity through reform, empathy for all Christians, faith, and military action.²² Although Foxe remains unsure whether the Turkish sultan or the pope “is the truer or greater Antichrist,” he is sure that the Turks are the more “manifestemie,” and that the “Christen reader” and the “Christen princes,” when considering “how litle a part of Christianitie remaineth behynd,” should know that “it is tyme now for them to bes-tyrre them, if euer they thinke to doe any good in Gods Church.”²³ In general, as Tyerman explains, even though “Christendom [was] no longer confessionally united, nonetheless a sense of unity transcended the religious divide in the face of a common enemy, the Turk,” and this sense of unity through the idea of Christendom illustrates a key link between medieval and early modern English concerns.²⁴

Whereas Protestantism affected crusading practices without destroying crusading thought, the advent of print and the fame of Turkish victories

combined to enable a potentially greater circulation of crusading texts. That is, an appreciation of Turkish military might – a strength amply demonstrated after their occupation of Otranto in Italy in 1480, the conquest of the Holy Land and Egypt in 1516–17, and the siege of Vienna in 1529 – encouraged printers to appeal to English audiences with texts about Christian conflicts with Muslim opponents. Notably, the printers did so by emphasizing the continuity of contemporary holy warfare with the crusading past. It is perhaps telling that the first surviving piece of print from England is a crusading indulgence in 1476, and that works about crusading were among the first to be produced.²⁵ Though certainly not all of the thousands of printed texts referring to the Turks in early modern Europe are crusading texts, the steady accessibility of crusading histories and plans from presses allowed English authors and readers to shape their understanding of religious conflict, political advice, and imaginative resolutions through a familiar narrative structure of loss and recovery that was informed by medieval concerns and promoted a cyclical view of Christian victory and defeat.²⁶

Two early instances of English engagement with crusading thought through print are William Caxton's *Godeffroy of Boloyne, or The Siege and Conqueste of Jherusalem* in 1481, a translation of the French *Le Livre d'Eracles*, based on William of Tyre's history of the First Crusade, and his *Charles the Grete* in 1485, a translation of the French *Fierabras* story describing Charlemagne's fictional crusading exploits in Iberia combined with a version of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*. These prose texts promulgated crusading ideology by holding up the example of the past.²⁷ For instance, in Caxton's prologue to *Godeffroy* he comments that the situation during the First Crusade is "moche semblable and lyke" the current state of Christendom, and he hopes that his book will "encourage, moeue, and enflamme the hertes of somme noble men" to bring about the "recuperacion of the holy land" by fighting the Turks, the "grete enemye of oure Cristen fayth" and "vsurpar of ... many Cristen Royammes."²⁸ Caxton's texts and printing of crusade indulgences were part of a surge of interest partially created through the new medium, as evinced by the printing of John Kaye's 1482–3 *The Siege of Rhodes*, a translation of Guillaume Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodie urbis descriptio*, an eyewitness account of the Christian defense in 1480 that was wildly popular across Europe.²⁹ Thus, the beginning of printing in England actually brought crusading texts and awareness of recent battles to a larger portion of the English populace than before.

Subsequent printers such as Wynkyn de Worde, John Lettou, and Richard Pynson maintained this connection between crusading and the

new technology until well into the sixteenth century, as they also produced crusading indulgences. Additionally, the publishing of multiple editions of English medieval romances by de Worde and Pynson from 1500 to 1530 and by William Copland in the 1560s, including several of the crusading romances discussed previously in this study, kept medieval crusading narratives available to the early modern reading public.³⁰ *Richard Cœur de Lion* was printed in 1509, 1528, and possibly in c. 1568, *Sir Isumbras* in c. 1530, c. 1560, and c. 1565, and *Octavian* in c. 1505.³¹ Finally, histories printed throughout the sixteenth century repeated or extended Caxton's earlier connection between the medieval crusading opponents, the Saracens, and the early modern "common enemy" of the Turks.³² For example, Peter Ashton's 1546 translation of Paolo Giovio's Italian treatise *Commentario de le cose de' Turchi* traces the origins of the Turks as opponents of Christendom to the time of the First Crusade, while Thomas Newton's 1575 translation of Celio Augustino Curione's Latin work *Sarracenica historiae* offers English readers a similar view of the medieval Saracens as the direct forerunners of their present Turkish opponents.³³ Richard Knolles's massive and influential *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, first printed in 1603, also begins with a history of the crusades – part of which he derived from medieval manuscript sources – and of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem until its loss in 1291 before turning to the lives of the Ottoman emperors; Knolles concludes by hoping that Islam "shall at length by the Christian sword also be destroyed" so that all the world "may be one blessed flocke vnder one great shepheard Christ Iesus."³⁴ In the same year, Abraham Hartwell published *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, a translation of Soranzo's 1598 Italian text *L'Ottomanno*, acknowledging in his dedication that despite Soranzo's error in using "wordes against the Caluinists" and being "addicted to the popish religion," the text contains a useful crusading treatise, "a most christian and resolute aduise giuen by the author to all Christian Princes, how they may combyne and confederate them selues together in this sacred war," which Hartwell hopes will occur so they may "eclipse that cressant Moone" of the Turks.³⁵ In this respect print, rather than marking the end of English crusading thought, instead contributed directly to its continuation, since the printing of new histories, English medieval romances, and even "popish" authors writing about crusade events or plans sustained the associative language of Christendom and of "confederate" rulers fighting in "this sacred war" in England while linking those battles explicitly or implicitly to the medieval past.³⁶

In addition to its more complex relationship with religious change and print, crusading also was bound up with the exploitation and colonization

of the New World, with Portuguese interest in Africa, and with the intellectual force of humanism. As the quotation from Columbus's journal at the start of this chapter indicates, even while Europe turned toward exploration of lands across the Atlantic or around the Cape of Good Hope to the "Indies," for some the goal of this exploration was not to acquire greater comprehension of the world but to find the means to resume the crusade to recover the Holy Land.³⁷ The papacy, for instance, gave Portugal exclusive trading right in Africa and India because it hoped that the Portuguese would find and ally with "Prester John," a mythical Christian ruler in the East, in order to fight Islam; the Portuguese king João II (r. 1481–95) specifically instructed his sailors to find Prester John's mysterious land.³⁸ Similarly, in the Americas "the tradition of the *reconquista* lived in [the Spanish explorers and conquistadors] and, indeed, the next generation who set out determinedly to convert the native peoples," causing the explorers to adopt an attitude of superiority similar to that which had influenced the treatment of the Baltic pagans.³⁹

By comparison, the early modern movement known as humanism, which emphasized knowledge derived from classical Greek and Roman texts, especially for the study of rhetoric, philology, and political history, is now understood to be more engaged with crusading than standard explanations of Europe's "Renaissance" acknowledge. In the words of historian James Hankins, "The humanists wrote far more often and at far greater length about the Turkish menace and the need for crusade than they did about such better-known humanist themes as true nobility, liberal education, the dignity of man, or the immortality of the soul."⁴⁰ Though humanists did not comprise a unified intellectual movement, their general attitude towards religious warfare derived much from the medieval crusading tradition even as they transformed that tradition, as one scholar put it, through "innovative idioms."⁴¹ Contemporary scholars such as Hankins, Nancy Bisaha, and Margaret Meserve have demonstrated the humanists' extensive focus on the Turks and crusading, particularly in Italy.⁴² In England, this focus can be seen in the humanist Thomas More, who argued in favor of crusading and its theology in several works, including *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529), *The Debellation of Salem and Byzance* (1533), and *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation* (1534). Contrasting More's views in *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies* with the mainly exceptional anti-crusading views of the Dutch humanist Erasmus, Housley finds that More "adopts a celebratory approach towards past crusades that Erasmus would surely have found unacceptable, and [More's view] is couched in terms of a consolatory providential outlook that accords

with that espoused by many crusading apologists in the past.”⁴³ Almost a hundred years later, the humanist Francis Bacon wrote *An Advertisement Touching an Holy Warre* (1622–3), a dialogue among figures representing Catholic, Protestant, political, and martial views about the possibility and legitimacy of crusading, perhaps as a kind of supplication to James I, who favored Christian reconciliation through holy war against the Turks, thereby showing the lasting engagement of English humanism with crusading.⁴⁴ In general, the major cultural changes typically used to explain the separation of medieval from early modern England – the Reformation, print, the Turks, exploration, and humanism – are less definitive markers, at least in relation to crusading thought and discourse. This realization not only exposes an uncomfortable intolerance in the origins of the “enlightened” modern world, but also, when understood in conjunction with the fate of the English crusading romance, reveals how certain forms of English writing maintained crusading narratives after the end of direct participation.

Despite the fact that major cultural changes such as the Reformation or print display significant continuity with the crusade attitudes of the Middle Ages, the English crusading romance essentially ends as a coherent genre in the early modern period. With a few exceptions, including the anonymous poem *Capystranus*, probably composed in the second half of the fifteenth century, Caxton’s prose translations of French sources about Godfrey and Charlemagne in the 1480s, Lord Berners’s c. 1515 translation of a French prose Charlemagne romance *Huon of Bordeaux*, published in 1533, and Richard Johnson’s popular prose romance *The Seven Champions of Christendom* (1596–7), no new crusading romances survive from early modern England.⁴⁵ To some extent this absence was mitigated by the availability of older texts. The medieval crusading romances *Richard Cœur de Lion*, *Sir Isumbras*, and to a lesser degree *Octavian* continued to be reprinted and to circulate up to the 1570s, while *Guy of Warwick*, printed in 1497, 1498, c. 1553, and c. 1565, was well known.⁴⁶ It is important to acknowledge that while for pre-Reformation audiences these printed crusading romances could incite desire for direct participation in or financial contribution to military action, in the second half of the sixteenth century they would function in a commemorative and inspirational manner by raising the still timely issues of cooperative political action among Christians and of personal salvation for a readership uneasily wrestling with changes in religious tradition.⁴⁷

Primarily, however, the circulation of the medieval crusading romances influenced writing in other forms. As demonstrated in previous chapters,

crusading comprised more than large-scale military action, and evidence for the persistence of English engagement with crusading in the early modern period can be found in the incorporation of the crusading romance's narrative structure and some of its features into different kinds of English writing, especially drama on the public stage and historical writing about the Turks. My view of the end of the crusading romance and its diffusion into other genres accords with recent scholarly reassessments of the general role of the medieval romance in early modern England; as Andrew King comments, "The evidence suggests a fairly strong interest in native verse romance until c. 1570 and after that a decline in interest," but this decline is complicated by "the continued reading and copying of romance in manuscript in the sixteenth century, and the mutation of the romances into new forms, literary and otherwise."⁴⁸ Some of the incorporation of the crusading romance can be traced fairly directly: in 1534 there was a performance at Braintree of *Placy Dacy, alias Saint Eustacy* relating the legend of St. Eustace, which was the major source for the medieval crusading romance *Sir Isumbras*; John Smith's play *Destruction of Jerusalem*, performed by the guilds of Coventry in 1584, likely recounts the crusading ideology found in the medieval poem *The Siege of Jerusalem*; a version of the Charlemagne story found in *The Sowdone of Babylone* was remade as a play called *The Twelve Peers of France* (before 1586); in London another version of the siege of Jerusalem was performed under the title *Titus and Vespasian* in 1591–2 at the same time that a play called *Jerusalem* about the First Crusade was also enacted; George Peele's popular *The Battle of Alcazar*, performed in 1589 and revived in 1598, recounts King Sebastian of Portugal's death while on crusade in North Africa in 1578 with the English Catholic Thomas Stukeley; the second part of the *Jerusalem* play, called *Godfrey of Bullen* (or *Bulloigne*), was performed from 1594 to 1595; and the story of *Guy of Warwick* was "dramatized perhaps as many as four times between 1580 and 1620."⁴⁹ Because so many of these plays are lost, it is impossible to say to what degree they utilized crusading imagery or narrative patterns. Nevertheless, these dramatic productions, their probable sources in printed romances and chronicles, and other surviving crusading romances offer a different perspective about the perception of crusading subject matter in early modern culture. The prevalence of such material also alters our view of authors such as Spenser, Marlowe, or Shakespeare, who may not have seen an actual English crusader but who grew up with such texts and thus could draw upon "medieval" crusading narratives. My point here is not simply to identify the pervasiveness of what could be called "crusading rhetoric" – incidental anti-Islamic references

or condemnation of the Turks – in early modern texts, which has already been explored, but to identify a few texts that make considerable use of the narrative pattern and features of the crusading romance and so prolong and transform the medieval tradition.

CRUSADING'S "POETIKE COMPARISON" AND "DARKE
CONCEIT" IN *LEPANTO* AND *THE FAERIE QUEENE*⁵⁰

James I's *Lepanto* (1585) and Book I of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, entitled "The Legend of the Knight of the Red Crosse, or Of Holinesse" (1590), differ in many respects, but the two poems are indebted to the narrative pattern and political thought of the crusading romance while also exhibiting a Protestant discomfort with Catholic crusading symbols and history. James's poem of just over a thousand lines, originally composed in fourteeners but later divided into ballad stanzas, has been called a "heroic poem" or, in the words of the 1603 London edition, a "Heroicall Song."⁵¹ *Lepanto* was praised in its time and was translated into Latin, French, Dutch, and German.⁵² It is based with some alterations on the actual crusader battle of Lepanto, a naval conflict on 7 October 1571 fought near Corfu, which was prompted by the Turkish attack on Venetian Cyprus. Ultimately the defeat of the Turkish navy at Lepanto was not as significant a shift in Mediterranean power as the subsequent celebratory reactions seem to indicate, but its ideological significance as a crusading victory was great.⁵³ Despite James's consultation of several sources on the battle and his praise for the Catholic victory led by Don John of Austria, Philip II of Spain's illegitimate half-brother, he claims in a preface added in 1591 that his poem is really a "Poetike comparison" or allegory that promises Protestant victory over Catholic persecution.⁵⁴ Though written by a Scottish king, the poem was well known in England from its printing in 1591 (where its Scottish dialect was anglicized by the printer Robert Waldegrave) and from the separate edition made in London in 1603 for James's coronation as king of England, and hence is useful for examining English attitudes towards crusading.⁵⁵ As Robert Appelbaum describes it, James's *Lepanto* is an ambiguous text where "various narrative impulses collide for sometimes clear and sometimes obscure purposes."⁵⁶

In contrast, Spenser's monumental, massive, and incomplete *Faerie Queene*, of which the first three books were published in 1590 and the full six in 1596, is an allegorical romance epic not based on any one historical event. Influenced by Italian epics such as Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* [*Wrathful Orlando*] (1532) and Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme*

Liberata [Jerusalem Delivered] (1581) and by medieval romances, and written in deliberately archaic language in nine-line Spenserian stanzas, the poem, as Spenser claims in his letter to Walter Raleigh printed in the 1590 edition, is a “continued Allegory” or “darke conceit” intended “to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline.”⁵⁷ The twelve cantos of Book I tell the story of Redcrosse, Spenser’s version of St. George, the patron of crusaders and later of England, who encounters several obstacles on his knightly quest to save the parents and land of the lady Una from a dragon.⁵⁸ Generally understood to recount the eventual historical and apocalyptic triumph of the Protestant English church over Catholicism as well as an “Everyman” journey from sin to redemption through faith, Redcrosse’s adventures in Book I have recently been reinterpreted in a manner that questions the precise correspondence of plot, character, and genre to Protestant theology and polemic. In a key study Benedict Robinson argues that in Book I “Spenser rewrites romance narratives of crusade in order to explore the problems of a Christendom at war with itself: above all, he tests the possibility of appropriating crusade romance as the enabling fiction not of an integral Christendom but of a Protestant nation.”⁵⁹ Additionally, Andrew Hadfield has reassessed the apparent victory of the Protestant church at the end of Book I in Redcrosse’s and Una’s troubled betrothal; calling attention to Redcrosse’s immediate departure and the couple’s uncertain union, he suggests that “The fact that the book owes much to the form of the narrative of a saint’s life ... should alert us to the ways in which Spenser has cast his romance-epic as a transitional work,” and that the “impact of the Reformation has not yet been absorbed,” so that the book “ends inconclusively, not triumphantly, as is often assumed.”⁶⁰

In general, while Spenser’s and James’s texts rely on epic conventions and articulate Protestant concerns about crusading, they are ultimately less critical of the crusading past than most scholars have presumed. Furthermore, despite the limited appeal of epic to elite audiences, James’s poem was broadly accessible in print after his accession to the English throne in 1603, and Spenser’s poem “had in mind a larger, more variegated audience than the aristocracy alone,” though after the 1590s its audience became more constricted.⁶¹ Revising our view of these poems allows us to see the *Lepanto* as broadly congruent with James’s general political goal of reconciling Christendom and enabling united Christian action against the Turks throughout much of his reign – a goal also frequently expressed by early modern English authors and translators.⁶² Similarly, Book I’s account of “Holinesse,” by relying upon the image of an individual

crusading knight and telling the story of his reform through embedded penitence and combat against Saracens, offers a more conciliatory view of the English church's break from Rome.

The indebtedness of James's and Spenser's poems to the crusading romance can be better understood by briefly considering an earlier text. The fragmentary crusading romance *Capystranus*, written in tail-rhyme stanzas and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in c. 1515 and reissued in c. 1527 and c. 1530 but probably circulating earlier in manuscript, recounts the successful defense of Belgrade from the Turks in 1456 by the crusader forces of the Hungarian leader Janos Hunyadi and the Italian Friar John of Capistrano.⁶³ In addition to its literary account of an actual crusader battle, the poem displays several features of the crusading romance, including a papally authorized military campaign with indulgences, an emphasis on relics and images of the cross, praise for those who fight as "Goddess knyght" (230) for "Goddess ryght" (403), the threat of conversion, and a miracle where 20,000 Christians return to life to fight the Turks.⁶⁴ As one of the later surviving crusading romances, the poem shows that such texts were being composed and circulating up to the early sixteenth century on topical events that are nonetheless couched in terms of an ongoing history of holy war. Bonnie Millar-Heggie writes that the poem frames the recent Christian defense in terms of imitating the crusading hero Charlemagne and "is intended to inspire men to take up the fight to repel the heathen threat to Christendom."⁶⁵ Long after the 1456 defense of Belgrade, however, the poem could still resonate with contemporary crusading issues directly, since Belgrade's capture by the Turks in 1521 may have caused the poem's later reprinting, or indirectly, as the poem imagines that the Hungarian defense required the aid of an English knight.⁶⁶

Capystranus begins not with the siege of Belgrade but by situating that conflict as part of a long history of religious warfare. The poem first invokes the triune God and then acknowledges that while some people enjoy tales of knights, ladies, and miracles, some love to hear "of venterous knyghtes olde / That for our Lorde dyde fyght" (41–2) such as Charlemagne, who killed "Turkes and the paynymys bolde" (52) and won the relics of the Passion "fro the hethen houndes" (46). Even though its principal narrative is the historical siege in 1456, the poem harks back to Charlemagne's fictional triumphs against religious opponents in order to establish crusading's narrative pattern of loss and recovery, since Charlemagne's triumphs are balanced with the subsequent description of how "Machamyte" [Mehmed II] (58) captured Constantinople and "played the kynge Pharaon" (69) when he "left none on lyfe, / Neyther

man, chylde, ne wyfe" (64–5). The poem's account of Turkish atrocities emphasizes the desecration of crucifixes and churches, the martyring of priests and other innocents, the prowess of the Christian captives who rebel and kill many Turks before being overwhelmed, and the steadfast faith of the Christians, as the emperor of Constantinople refuses to convert to Islam despite being tortured. This use of typical crusading romance features to describe fifteenth-century conflicts for sixteenth-century audiences attests to the longevity of such narratives and to their ability to affix new events, such as the traumatic loss of Constantinople or the victory at Belgrade, on to an existing "history" of crusading extending back to Charlemagne.

Only after the capture of Constantinople does the poem turn to its titular hero, "Johan Capystranus the Frere" (229), who tells the pope of the sultan who "brennes and slees Goddes lande" [burns and slays God's land (or people)] (239), destroys churches, and intends to win "all Hungree" (243). When the pope asks him to choose a captain to lead the campaign, Capystranus chooses a "baner of Crystes Passyoun" (308) and "thy bull of leed" (291) that will ensure for those who die that "theyr soules come never in payne" (296). This strong focus on God's leadership as represented in the banner, rather than on the leadership of any individual person, is balanced with an emphasis on the papal "pardon of grace" (303), which ensures salvation for the crusaders; these ideas return during the actual battle when Capystranus "Assoyled our men" (382) and when the poem repeatedly mentions the "baner" (338, 387, 462) as a source of inspiration. Even so, *Capystranus* portrays the papacy as supportive but passive; only the energy of Capystranus himself, as well as that of "good Erle Obedyanus" (344), the poem's version of Hunyadi, and two knights, "Rycharde Morpath, a knyght of Englonde" (349) and "Syr Johan Blacke ... That was a Turke before" (350–1), enable the crusade campaign to succeed.

Although *Capystranus* appears conventional in its contrast of the savagery of "Turkes and Sarasyns" (158) with Christian prowess and eventual victory, the poem mixes its account of the historical defense with implicit commentary on crusading problems. Some of this commentary centers on Capystranus himself; he claims to be "the messynger of Jhesus" (259) and makes rather forceful demands of the pope, who acknowledges that the friar is a "holy man" (299) and will follow his advice. After receiving papal blessing for the campaign, Capystranus collects large quantities of money and, in implied contrast to the typical use of indulgence contributions in the fifteenth century, distributes it directly to the crusaders, prompting the poem's aside that "Suche Freres we have to fewe!" (319).

Other details in the poem are not aimed at the ecclesiastical machinery but at general Christian involvement and the role of conversion. The inclusion of the fictional Morpath and Blacke stresses an imagined, direct English contribution to the victory as well as the conversion of Turks into mighty Christian warriors. Indeed, while the poem's claim that "Men of dyverse countré" (341) joined the campaign may have some basis in historical reality, *Capystranus's* vision of a largely non-knightly crusader army stemming the Turkish advance shows a longing for unified action in Christendom even as it acknowledges multiple deficiencies in current crusading activity.⁶⁷ Additionally, the poem's opening and climactic references to Charlemagne's victories (43–57, 502–6) and the divine punishment of Pharoah in Exodus (69, 507–11) constitute a structural parallel that applies the narrative pattern of loss and recovery to anticipate a new crusading leader who will defeat those that "served Sathan" (394). All in all, *Capystranus* recognizably draws on the medieval literary tradition, but the poem's revisions to that tradition and treatment of a more recent historical event reveal how subsequent early modern texts could discuss crusading subjects critically while modifying the form of the crusading romance.

James I's *Lepanto*, in a manner similar to that of *Capystranus*, transforms a historical crusade campaign into a commentary on crusading aspirations and ideas. Scholars today are divided about the meaning and intention of James's work; much of this discussion is driven by the seemingly incongruent application of the Protestant allegory to the Catholic victory in the narrative, and frequently turns on the interpretation of James's preface, where he explains his method and laments that "some things [have been] misconstrued by sundry" by a "mistaking" of "part of the meaning."⁶⁸ It is true that the preface and, to a limited extent, the poem itself express an anti-Catholic view. The preface calls Don John a "forraine Papist bastard" while the concluding chorus of angels mocks those who "worship God of bread" (986) and the narrator finishes by "Exhorting all you Christians true / Your courage vp to bend" (1019–20), meaning that Protestants should resist the assaults of the "Antichristian sect" (1025).⁶⁹ Still, these opening and ending claims are undermined by the intervening narrative, where the conflict is described as between "the baptiz'd race, / And circum-sised Turband Turkes" (10–11) and in which God himself acknowledges that "All christians serues my Sonne though not / Aright in everie thing" (79–80) before resolving that "these Christians" (81) – that is, the Catholic Venetians, though they and other Catholics are called simply "Christians" within the poem – will defeat the "Infidels" (82).

While the text and anxious preface of James's poem are ambivalent, balancing both pan-Christian and Protestant interests, his contemporary readers of the poem in England received his "Heroicall Song" in terms derived from their understanding of crusade discourse and the crusading romance, thus treating it as a work that endorsed crusading as a sign of Christian unity. For instance, Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's friend, praised *Lepanto* as a "valorous Martial Lecture" about "the glory of Christendome against the Turke."⁷⁰ In 1603 Knolles, who dedicated his *Generall Historie of the Turkes* to James, wrote in his epistle that part of the reason for his choice was that "your Maiestie hath not disdained in your *Lepanto* ... to adorne and set forth the greatest and most glorious victorie that ever was by any the Christian confederat princes obtained against these the *Othoman* Kings."⁷¹ These views, which according to the preface would be "misconstrued," instead point to the potency of the crusading romance's narrative expectations for the interpretation of related works, as is evident in other treatments of the historical battle in Protestant England.⁷² In 1572, for example, George Gascoigne composed a wedding masque that included an "English boye" whose father had fought at Rhodes and died at Cyprus; the boy witnessed Lepanto and reports how "Christ gave his flocke the victory" over "the Christian enemye, the Turke that Prince of pride."⁷³ In the royal entry pageant made for James in London in 1604, one of the columns depicted Apollo pointing to the battle of Lepanto and recognizing James's poem, while Shakespeare's *Othello*, performed in 1604 before the king, bears several similarities with James's poem.⁷⁴ All of these references either present the battle as a general Christian triumph or disregard the confessional divide that vexes James in his preface. Perhaps Knolles summarizes this attitude best when he recounts that after Lepanto "rejoycing was also made in ROME, in SPAINE, NAPLES, SICILIA, and MALTA ... yea and afterwards in other countries further off was like rejoycing and signes of joy, as with vs here in ENGLAND" for this "notable battell ... the like whereof was neuer fought at sea against the Turke, wherein he ... might thereby well perceiue what he and his successours were to feare, if the Christian princes at vnitie ... should in zeale of their religion joyne their inuincible forces against them."⁷⁵ Knolles's acknowledgment of shared rejoicing, including by "vs here in ENGLAND," extends to a potential "vnitie" of "forces" and of "religion" against the Turks; this notion of unity through crusading despite Christianity's religious divide is also implicit in James's *Lepanto*, regardless of the author's intended "Poetike comparison," because of its use of crusading features.

James's poem constructs its literary portrayal of Christian victory by drawing on several crusading romance features similar to those found in *Capystranus*, including the pattern of loss and recovery, the depiction of large-scale military action, and a focus on penitence, personal salvation, and the reform of Christendom. After beginning with a parallel, albeit conventional invocation to God as "Thrise one in persons three" (14), the poem describes the military campaign as one fought between a Christian "holie league" (194) and "Mahometists" (143) who come from "CONSTANTINOPLE great" (50) and who "had conquest Cyprus Ile, / And all [the Venetians'] lands that lay / Without the bounds of Italie" (145–7), thereby justifying the war because of the loss of Christian possessions. This crusading battle is an act of vengeance, as God tells the angel Gabriel to make the Venetians want "To take reuenge of wrongs the Turks / Haue done in sundrie kinds" (91–2), and Gabriel reminds them how they are "By cruell Turks and infidels / Most spitefullie opprest" (121–2). Furthermore, the battle is also a means for penitence and reform: the Venetians appeal to all Christian churches to "pray for their / Reliefe in euerie thing" (151–2), and the Venetians are "praying still and fasting oft" (155) with "piteous plaints" (153) and "sobs and sighs" (157), while after the victory the Venetian chorus sings praises to God who "hath redeemd vs now, / From cruell Pagans thrall" (915–16) and declares "Let vs wash off our sinnes impure, / Cast off our garments vile" (901–2). This struggle for salvation is echoed in Don John's reminder to the soldiers of "how righteous was / Their quarrell, and how good" (485–6) because of its "just reliefe of Christian soules / From cruell Pagans hands" (491–2) by the freeing of Christian slaves, who are "Releeu'd from Turkish rod" (856) after the battle. Additionally, when listing the Christian forces, James's poem also notes the presence of "Three thousand venturers braue, / All volontaires of conscience mou'd, / And would no wages haue" (282–4) who come "From diuers partes" (281). Although the *Lepanto* never refers to any soldiers as crusaders, these "volontaires" who are moved by "conscience" are described by Knolles as "diuers other of great nobilitie ... for the naturall hatred they bare vnto the common enemy, came and as voluntarie men cheerefully thrust themselues into that religious war," suggesting that they, like the "Men of dyverse countré" (341) in *Capystranus*, represent crusaders seeking personal salvation in the service of Christendom.⁷⁶

Although *Lepanto*'s use of these features and the narrative pattern of loss and recovery locate it within the tradition of crusading literature and explain its "misconstrued" reception, the poem modifies that tradition for its early modern religious context, since in addition to epic devices

such as the heavenly council or classical allusions to Neptune and Rumor, it omits or obscures elements that would hinder Protestant support of a “Christian” victory, specifically the use of indulgences, the pope, and the imagery of the cross.⁷⁷ James simply passes over any potential mention of indulgences, lamenting “how many Christians there / Were kild by Pagane hands” (763–4) but not discussing the afterlife, and omits the agency of the pope in forming the historical Holy League in favor of Spanish and Italian military leaders. Whereas these omissions are to be expected from a Protestant author, the most telling change is James’s replacement of the historical papal crusading banner displaying the Crucifixion on Don John’s ship with the “bloodie signe of Furious MARS” (427) which inspired all who saw this “signe of Warre ... To winne or els to die” (443–4).⁷⁸ This neutral classical reference not only circumvents potential Protestant objections about idolatry, but also recasts the campaign as overcoming “priuate mens discord” (320) both for the “honor of the Lord” (318) and for the “publicke cause” (319), thus transforming a Catholic victory into a pan-Christian one over a religious enemy, especially since the banner is soon joined by the head of Ali Pasha, the Turkish leader, which is fixed “Vpon [Don John’s] Galley Mast” (838). James may end his poem by having the chorus of angels distinguish between those Christians who “professe” (960) God’s name “aright” (962) and those who do not, but for the most part the finer points of this awkward allegory would have mattered little to an English audience familiar with the crusading romance. In the *Lepanto* they could readily find a heroic story that offered a familiar image of Christian crusading unity that was nonetheless sensitive to Protestant objections. Indeed, James’s lament for Don John, who had died in 1578, sounds less like the condemnation of a “forraigne Papist bastard” and more like an elegy for a lost Christian leader:

O Spanish Prince whome of a glance
And suddainlie away
The cruell fates gaue to the world
Not suffering thee to stay.

(857–60)

Though the ending of *Capystranus* is lost, the Italian friar and Hunyadi died of plague shortly after the defense of Belgrade, and one could easily imagine similar lines concluding that poem.⁷⁹ James notably adds the justification of the “publicke cause” (319) to his depiction of holy warfare, but his reliance on crusading history and narrative patterns meant that, whatever his intentions, for many in early modern England *Lepanto*

endorsed the popular medieval tradition and was created by a man who would become their king.

While *Lepanto* functions similarly to crusading romances such as *Richard Cœur de Lion* or *Capystranus* in its representation of a historical military campaign through the heroic exploits of a few central figures, Spenser's legend of Redcrosse draws upon tales of an individual crusader who, as in *Sir Isumbras*, battles religious enemies as part of his redemption from pride and sin in order to recover Christian lands. Unlike James's poem, Spenser's Book I rarely refers directly to historical events.⁸⁰ Additionally, Spenser's allegory includes more extended instances of anti-Catholic satire than James's poem, such as the unmasking of Fidessa, who describes herself as the daughter of an emperor living in Rome, as the foul sorceress Duessa who wears a "triple crowne" (7.16.4) resembling the papal tiara. A work surely engaged with contemporary religious polemic, Book I nevertheless tells the story of a Catholic saint, George, who is identified by his red cross and who is associated with crusaders and the East, on a quest to recover the lands of Una's parents in "Eden fayre" (12.26.1), which may be Armenia or some other general location in the East, from an evil dragon of "Tartary" (7.44.3), referring to the home of the Muslim Tartars in the Russian steppes.⁸¹ Thus, Spenser's poem contains an ambivalent view of crusading comparable to that of James's *Lepanto*; any condemnation of Catholic corruption does not preclude the adaptation of crusading narrative structures and their political connotations.

On his journey George (or Redcrosse) encounters the monster Errour, is deceived by Archimago and Duessa, battles various Saracens, escapes the house of Pride only to be captured by the giant Orgoglio and saved by Arthur, nearly commits suicide at the house of Despair, recovers at the house of Holiness, and wins his three-day battle with the dragon before being betrothed to Una. While Spenser's work is far too complex and elusive to be reduced to a single political meaning, even interpretations of the poem that acknowledge its debt to the medieval literary tradition often conclude that the Saracens in the poem and the location of the final struggle in the East stand either for Catholics or an abstract evil.⁸² Nonetheless, in addition to its other levels of meaning Book I presents a crusading narrative where Christian lands are recovered by a solitary, "crossed" knight battling religious opponents; moreover, this knight loses his purity because of pride and personal error, and must rehabilitate himself through penance and later pilgrimage in order to achieve victory and salvation. Spenser's audience, which likely extended

to readers beyond the aristocracy, would have been familiar with the patterns of the medieval crusading romance, a genre that, as seen in *Sir Isumbras* or in *Capystranus*, could include a desire for reform or a rejection of papal authority without denying the potency of crusading itself.⁸³ Spenser's Book I, though not inspiring the English to launch a crusade against the Turks, curiously imagines the radical reform of the Christian church and the individual through a crusading journey that repeatedly connects the defeat of Muslim opponents to an individual's faith. In this respect, certain scenes in Redcrosse's story, especially his identification with the imagery of the cross in contrast to the "proud Miscreant" (5.13.1) Saracens, his redemption through penitence and combat in the house of Holiness and dragon episodes, and his negotiation of the contrasting political claims of Una, Duessa, and Lucifera, enable a different "darke conceit" of the poem that undercuts a staunchly Protestant denunciation of crusading.

Understanding Book I's embedded crusading narrative requires unpacking the political implications of various characters and spaces. Elizabeth Fowler has explored the relationship between what she calls Spenser's "architectonic" use of character, which "implicitly order[s] kinds of knowledge according to a sense of subordinate and superordinate pursuits and ends," and how certain episodes in Spenser's work "employ personifications that test the identification between geographical space and political space."⁸⁴ Drawing on these insights, I suggest that Spenser found the structure and features of the crusading romance useful for examining crusading claims regarding political rule, religious geography, and the individual's pursuit of salvation in several episodes in Book I. Though not as sophisticated as *The Faerie Queene's* arrangement of space, *Capystranus's* collocation of Charlemagne's conquests, the Turks' capture of Constantinople, and the Christian defense of Belgrade is one example of how the crusading romance can organize knowledge to make political claims that are both geographically specific and universalizing. In Book I, the "architectonic" layering of differing identities and systems of knowledge on to Redcrosse – English national saint, patron saint of crusaders, Christian Everyman, and individual crusading knight seeking redemption – contributes to the geographical and political claims of the text, which assert Christian rights to lands in the East.⁸⁵

Before examining Redcrosse as a crusader, it is worth noting that Spenser wrote a commendatory sonnet for Zachary Jones's 1596 translation of a French history of Scanderbeg, or George Castriot, praising the fifteenth-century Albanian leader and crusader against the Turks. The

sonnet challenges the boastings of “vaine antiquitie” and its “old Heroes” in favor of one “whom later age hath brought to light” and who is “Great both by name, and great in power and might,” namely “Scanderbeg,” the “scourge of Turkes, and plague of infidels.”⁸⁶ Spenser’s sonnet praises the crusading leader as equal to the great ancient heroes, balancing the medieval with the classical, and in this manner it corresponds well with Jones’s epistle to the reader, which describes Scanderbeg as “a bulwarke to Christendome, a champion for the religion, the paragon of that age.”⁸⁷ In fact, Jones’s assertion that current rulers may see in the “Idea of Scanderbeg” the “image both of an expert Generall and an absolute souldier” representing the “bright shining lustre of many royall and heroicall vertues,” and that “there is no estate, degree or calling, but may find ... somewhat to admire at, much to delight in, and most things to imitat and to put in practise and execution,” echoes some of the main concepts in Spenser’s letter to Raleigh explaining the broad aims of his “historicall fiction” in *The Faerie Queene*.⁸⁸ Though Spenser’s sonnet does not mention crusading as such, the phrases “scourge of Turkes” and “plague of infidels” explain why Scanderbeg is to be admired; these phrases also could describe Spenser’s Redcrosse, who battles multiple Saracen opponents under the sign of the cross in his adventures and thus exemplifies the virtues of a medieval crusading hero.

Book I uses the imagery of the cross in its title, “The Legend of the Knight of the Red Crosse,” and in its opening description of the protagonist, who “on his brest a bloodie Crosse he bore” (1.2.1) and “Vpon his shield the like was also scor’d” (1.2.5); this imagery contains multiple layers of meaning that present the protagonist as a symbol of the English nation and as a crusader. From its beginning the knight’s bearing of the cross as a “deare remembrance” (1.2.2) and “glorious badge” (1.2.3) of Jesus indicates his identity as St. George and that story’s function as an allegory of Christian salvation; yet his symbolic bearing of the cross also recalls the injunctions of crusade sermons and discourse, which used biblical citations about taking up Jesus’ cross and following him to explicate crusading.⁸⁹ Redcrosse thus appears both as St. George of England and as a crusading knight, since crusaders often wore crosses on the chest.⁹⁰ This issue of what exactly the “deare remembrance” of the knight’s cross will evoke for the poem’s audience is evident in later English writing on crusading. Thomas Fuller’s *Historie of the Holy Warre* was written some time after Spenser’s death, but it usefully highlights the problematic link between George as a crusader saint and as the patron saint of England. In his description of the siege of Antioch during the First Crusade, Fuller states:

Some saw S. George in the aire with an armie of white horses fighting for them; but these no doubt did look through the spectacles of fansie. And yet though we should reject this apparition, we need not play the Origenes with the story of S. George, and change all the literall sense into an allegorie of Christ and his Church: for it is improbable that our English nation, amongst so many Saints that were, would choose one that was not, to be their patrone.⁹¹

Fuller's Protestant viewpoint prompts him to reject the appearance of George to the crusaders as the product of a deluded "fansie," yet he is quick to distinguish this delusion from a rejection of the "literall sense" of the saint's life in general, thus preserving George as the real "patrone" of the English. Intriguingly, Fuller does not see George's story as, or only as, "an allegorie of Christ and his Church," and his insistence on the saint's historical reality shows how Spenser's allegorical text similarly must struggle with the various meanings layered within the image of a knight with a red cross.⁹²

Although one could view the poem's contrast of Archimago's disguise as Redcrosse with "The true *Saint George*" (2.12.2), who is later called "*Saint George* of mery England" (10.61.9), as Spenser's attempt to address his protagonist's crusading implications, this view overlooks how Redcrosse's aiding of Una implies not just the triumph of the English church or his personal redemption, but also a crusading recovery. Una is a princess, "by descent from Royall lynage" (1.5.3), and the quest for which she has enlisted Redcrosse is one of vengeance for political and religious usurpation. As the poem relates, Una comes from

ancient Kinges and Queenes, that had of yore
Their scepters stretcht from East to Western shore,
And all the world in their subiection held,
Till that infernall feend with foule vprore
Forwasted all their land, and them expeld:
Whom to auenge, she had this Knight from far compeld.

(1.5.4–9)

The "vprore" [insurrection] of the "feend" who has here "expeld" Una's royal parents from their land functions on one level as a religious allegory of Satan's "attack" on Adam and Eve and hence, humankind. However, the political language of the passage, which presents her parents as Christian rulers who held the world in "subiection" with their "scepters" and now must be "auenge[d]" by regaining their lost land, suggests another, more earthly meaning.⁹³ Redcrosse, like the St. George of medieval hagiography who converted the inhabitants of a city in the Holy Land after subduing the dragon, is a crusader against the illegitimate seizure of Christian lands

by the Saracens or Turks. They, according to the author of *Capystranus*, who repeats a common idea in crusade discourse, “served Sathan” (394), and in addition to this devilish association with the “infernall feend,” they were viewed as having made Jerusalem captive in the same way that the dragon makes Una’s parents “thrall” (7.44.9). For example, Robert the Monk’s version of Urban II’s speech at Clermont personifies the city as a woman begging for release from the enslavement of her enemies:

Jerusalem is the navel of the Earth ... Yet this royal city at the centre of the world is now held captive by her enemies and enslaved by those who know nothing of the ways of the people of God. So she begs and craves to be free, and prays endlessly for you to come to her aid ... So seize on this road to obtain the remission of your sins, sure in the indestructible glory of the Heavenly Kingdom.⁹⁴

In Spenser’s poem, the dragon’s attack on Christian lands encodes the religious and political claims of crusade discourse through its repetition of the ideas of captivity and unlawful expulsion, and functions as a continuation of Redcrosse’s battles with Saracen knights earlier in the story.⁹⁵ That is, when Redcrosse kills Sansfoy, a “faithlesse Sarazin” (2.12.6), and when subsequently he with “quickning faith” (5.12.3) defeats Sansioy, the “Paynim bold” (4.41.1) and “cruell Sarazin” (5.4.1) who is specifically compared to a “Dragon fiers” (5.8.3) attempting to steal a griffon’s “rightfull rauine” [lawful spoil] (5.8.5), the poem creates a thematic continuity of the crusading knight overcoming a “faithlesse enimy” (5.15.3) that extends to the final battle with the dragon. This theme includes not only defending claims of proper possession, as in the combat between Sansioy and Redcrosse where “th’one for wrong, the other striues for right” (5.8.1), but also the reform or recovery of the knight’s spiritual purity.

The need for spiritual purity or, as Spenser titles it, “Holinesse” to overcome religious opponents is a concept frequently expressed in crusade discourse, and in Book I Redcrosse can only recover the lands of Una’s parents by becoming truly holy, for as Una states, all the knights who previously tried to subdue the dragon failed “for want of faith, or guilt of sin” (7.45.8). After abandoning Una and falling victim to pride and despair – essentially forgetting his purpose as a crusading knight – only Redcrosse’s spiritual redemption at the house of Holiness through penitence and contemplation allows him to achieve victory over the dragon. This episode, replete with personifications of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Zeal, is directed at Redcrosse’s recovery from spiritual weakness and sin. To reform himself, the knight learns religious doctrine, but to “extirpe” (10.25.6) his “Inward corruption” (10.25.2) he must wear “ashes and sackcloth” (10.26.1) and

fast to lower his “proud humors” (10.26.2), so that he is truly “recouer’d” (10.29.1) by the personifications of Patience, Penance, and Repentance. Although much attention has been paid to Redcrosse’s concluding contemplative vision of New Jerusalem in the house of Holiness in terms of a Protestant allegory of the biblical Book of Revelation, the poem’s emphasis on penance as an indispensable part of successful religious combat invokes a key component of crusading thought that was applied to large military campaigns and to individual pilgrimages.

Furthermore, the account of Redcrosse’s recovery through penance in this canto is juxtaposed to the description of the seven works of mercy, which include “Poore prisoners to relieue with gracious ayd, / And captiues to redeeme with price of bras, / From Turkes and Sarazins” (10.40.2–4). This unique mention of the Turks in Spenser’s poem is significant, as Robinson argues, because it ties the Turks to the “romance Saracen ... who occupies a neglected but crucial place in *The Faerie Queene*,” but it is also notable because it reflects another aspect of English crusading history.⁹⁶ The financial redemption of captured Christians had been a key component of English crusading contributions after the capture of Constantinople; the practice of redeeming Christians from religious oppressors continued in a modified form in the early modern period via local collections for the ransom of captives from Barbary pirates or the Turks as well as through published narratives of the prisoners’ experiences.⁹⁷ While English captivity narratives about such prisoners could include anti-Catholic polemic, some are based on the notion of a Christendom united against Islamic opponents, as in the early narrative “The Worthy Enterprise of John Fox,” the tale of an English sailor enslaved by the Turks and his dramatic escape with other Christian prisoners from Alexandria published in Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* (1589).⁹⁸ Book I’s explanation of this general work of mercy advocates the redemption of captives even though they were “faulty” (10.40.5) because God himself had redeemed “faulty soules” (10.40.9) from hell. The odd use of “faulty” here may simply mean that the prisoners were guilty of some sin which resulted in their capture, but it may also extend this work of mercy to include the ransoming of Catholics who are, as presented in the relatively moderate view of “The Worthy Enterprise of John Fox” or James’s *Lepanto*, “faulty” in their understanding of Christianity, yet still allies against the Turks. To some extent, then, Spenser’s poem may share the concern for the Christian slaves expressed in the *Lepanto*, where their liberation serves as one of the just causes for the battle and a reason for celebration afterward. Regardless, the key point here is that Spenser’s acknowledgment of

contemporary religious struggle between Christians and Muslims in this reference to “Turkes and Sarazins” provides an earthly counterpoint to the heavenly vision of New Jerusalem. Indeed, Redcrosse must abandon the vision of New Jerusalem for Una’s “cause” (10.63.8) and “to repayre” her parents’ “forwasted kingdom” (11.1.3) at the command of Contemplation himself; in this fashion Book I marks different layers of discourse, including crusade discourse, in the space of the house of Holiness and in the “architectonic” character of Redcrosse or the George of “English race” (10.60.1), but the relative priority of those layers is not necessarily that most consistent with Protestant theology. Instead, Spenser’s poem offers its English audience a combination of ecclesiastical reform with more traditional crusading attitudes and behavior against Islamic foes in a way that links the apocalyptic dragon to contemporary history.

The climactic battle with the dragon that follows Redcrosse’s departure from the house of Holiness begins with Una’s indication of the “brasen towre” (11.3.2) where her parents are “emprisoned” (11.3.3). Redcrosse’s freeing of them, as scholars have noted, enacts that same work of mercy of liberating captives that referred directly to the Turks in the previous canto, even echoing the redeeming “price of bras” in the tower’s “brasen” description.⁹⁹ These oblique references to crusade discourse are then augmented by the narrator’s invocation of his Muse to aid his account of the dragon battle, where he distinguishes this personal battle from a crusade campaign that he promises to describe later:

Fayre Goddesses lay that furious fitt asyde,
Till I of warres and bloody *Mars* doe sing,
And Bryton fieldes with Sarazin blood bedyde,
Twixt that great faery Queene and Paynim king
...
But now a while lett downe that haughtie string,
And to my tunes thy second tenor rayse,
That I this man of God his godly arms may blaze.
(11.7.1–9)

This war between the “faery Queene” and the pagan king is generally understood to refer to the failed invasion of England by the Spanish Armada, a subject that Spenser returns to briefly in Book V, though strangely without the epic grandeur suggested here.¹⁰⁰ In any event, whether the “warres” alluded to here refer exclusively to the Anglo-Spanish conflict or to an imagined, more generally resonant crusading battle between Christians and Saracens that was not completed before Spenser’s death, this stanza distinguishes an account of a holy war – such as James’s

frequent references to Mars in *Lepanto* – from a different kind of religious combat in a “second tenor,” namely the individual crusading of a “man of God” for religious recovery and his personal salvation. Book I later reiterates this distinction when Redcrosse tells Una’s parents that he cannot stay with Una because he must “retourne to that great Faery Queene, / And her to serue sixe yeares in warlike wize, / Gainst that proud Paynim king, that works her teene” (12.18.6–8), thus projecting a crusading narrative involving a different set of expectations and comparable to that of *Capistranus* or *Lepanto*.

These allusions to and incorporations of crusade discourse and the crusading romance’s narrative pattern in Book I’s protagonist and major episodes make sense for a story so embroiled with the medieval literary tradition, but their use in asserting crusading political claims is unexpected in what can appear to be an allegory highlighting Catholic corruption. Among its many other meanings, the ending betrothal of Redcrosse and Una certifies the legitimacy of Una’s claim to rule over Christian lands in the East, now recovered by Redcrosse, through her being the “onely daughter, and ... only hayre” (12.21.3) of the “aged Syre, the Lord of all that land” (12.3.2). Una’s legitimate claim is implicitly contrasted with the poem’s earlier description of Lucifera’s basis for authority at the house of Pride, and is directly contrasted with Duessa’s claim to authority (and to possession of Redcrosse) when she interrupts the betrothal ceremony with her legal “writt” (12.25.8) of challenge. Lucifera, whose name suggests her devilish connection, is certainly a symbol of the sin of worldly pride, yet her ambition, where she “to the highest ... did still aspyre” (4.11.8), is linked to her baseless political authority, as she “made her selfe a Queene ... Yet rightfull kingdome she had none at all ... But did vsurpe with wrong and tyrannie” (4.12.2–5), and rules not with “lawes, but pollicie [cunning]” (4.12.7).¹⁰¹ Apart from one indirect reference to Persia and the presence of the Saracen Sansioy at her court, it is difficult to locate Lucifera’s kingdom precisely, but her tyrannous usurpation, along with the presence of another “dreadfull Dragon” (4.10.5) as well as “*Sathan*” (4.36.2) himself, symbolically connects her to the dragon’s usurpation of Una’s lands so as to justify their recovery by Redcrosse. While Lucifera could suggest the unlawful rule of Eastern Islamic tyrants, who in crusade discourse lack “heritage of natiue soueraintie” (4.12.4) in the face of Christian claims, Duessa’s attempt at the end of Book I to stop the betrothal seems to contrast Catholic and Protestant declarations of authority instead. Duessa, who is the “sole daughter of an Emperour, / He that the wide West vnder his rule has” (2.22.7–8) in Rome, tells Una’s

father that Redcrosse has “already plighted his right hand / Vnto another loue, and to another land” (12.26.8–9), specifically herself and the West. Though Redcrosse admits that he previously had “strayd” (12.31.7) with Duessa, he and Una persuade the king that she is the “falsest Dame” (12.32.3) and a “false sorceresse” (12.33.6) who has used “secret treasons” (12.33.5) against Redcrosse, thereby invalidating her claim to him and, it would seem, to her status as “heyre ... of all the West” (12.26.3–4). Even though Duessa’s claim is ignored and her messenger imprisoned as yet another trick, the concluding betrothal ceremony is not as resolutely anti-Catholic as it may appear. As Harold Weatherby has demonstrated, the ceremony’s references to holy water and the sacrament of marriage recall the Catholic Sarum Missal, not the Protestant Prayer Book, thus making it appear to be a Catholic marriage; moreover, as Hadfield has noted, a triumphant view of the betrothal is undermined by several factors, including Redcrosse’s immediate departure for a new crusade.¹⁰² All in all, then, Lucifer’s usurpation operates as the rejected inverse of Una’s claim, but Duessa’s objection is less surely dismissed, perhaps even implying an original truth to her claim that was lost through her treasonous actions. In this sense, Book I, which uses the pattern of the crusading romance to confirm the legitimacy of Una’s claim, concludes by emphasizing the modification and reform of the Catholic past rather than its outright destruction, and attributes more positive value to Christians battling Islamic enemies than has been recognized. This ambiguity, I suggest, derives from the continued engagement with the English crusading tradition in the early modern period, which could question papal authority without abandoning the potent narrative of holy war or personal recovery.¹⁰³ This idea is best represented in Spenser’s choice of St. George as his protagonist, whose “bloodie Crosse” cannot, as Fuller put it, be treated entirely as the product of “fansie,” and whose example of militant holiness fashions a gentleman in a way similar to Scanderbeg’s scourging of the Turks in Jones’s history; in other words, George himself contains the divergent forces of a crusading and a national saint for England, and these forces are not resolved by his departure from the narrative.

The reception of *The Faerie Queene* presumably depended a great deal on the reader’s understanding of its first book, and the crusading narrative pattern and imagery employed in it meant that the early modern English audience – one likely more familiar with crusading romances than previously considered – could understand Redcrosse’s quest as representing more than just the history of the Protestant church. That audience might be more inclined to perceive the “architectonic” layers of discourse

in Spenser's poem when they turned to Book II, which presents a version of another medieval crusading hero, Guy of Warwick, as the knight Guyon, who is accompanied by his advisory Palmer, or pilgrim to the Holy Land, and who was knighted by Huon of Bordeaux, the hero of an earlier English crusading romance. Similarly, James I's *Lepanto* celebrated along with the rest of Christian Europe one of the few crusading victories achieved against the Turks as a way of emphasizing common ground rather than antagonism. James's *Lepanto* and Spenser's Book I sit uncomfortably close to the crusading romance even as they adopt aspects of classical and early modern epic; in so doing, they not only suggest the widespread appeal of crusading narratives, but also indicate the ambivalent attitudes of English Protestant authors negotiating this legacy. This ambivalence, as we will see, becomes even more pronounced on the early modern stage, which in some aspects represented the crusading past and present even more positively than these allegorical poems.

THE CRUSADING LEGACY IN EARLY MODERN DRAMA BY
MARLOWE, HEYWOOD, AND SHAKESPEARE

The English public stage in the early modern period, so often associated with narratives of tragic revenge, of romantic or city comedy, and of royal history, appears differently when one considers the number of (mainly lost) plays about crusading subjects mentioned previously in this chapter. In this section I consider plays by three authors that illustrate drama's engagement with crusading thought and history: one directly represents a crusade campaign and two draw on the crusading romance tradition to explore problems of conversion and of discord within Christendom that were preventing crusading against the Turks. The two parts of Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587–90), Thomas Heywood's *The Four Prentices of London, with the Conquest of Jerusalem*, printed in 1615 but first performed c. 1592, and William Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice* (1604) at first glance seem to have little in common other than exotic settings populated by characters of different religions in the East. Nevertheless, they are all related because they draw upon different features of the crusading romance in order to address early modern crusading issues: Marlowe's plays hope for the conversion of a noble Muslim warrior to become Christendom's ally; Heywood's play justifies current English mercantile interests in the Holy Land and renewed military action through a revision of the First Crusade; and Shakespeare's play warns of the consequences of Christian division through a rewriting of the loss of Cyprus to

the Turks. Furthermore, Heywood's play is indebted to Marlowe's mighty rhetoric in *Tamburlaine*, while Marlowe and Shakespeare may have shared Knolles's *Generall Historie* as a source.¹⁰⁴ In general, however, my point here is not about the plays' connections to one another, but their value as evidence of a more widespread interest in crusading narratives among English authors and in the socially mixed theatrical audience. This interest counteracts the anti-Catholic attitude expressed through the alliance of Elizabeth I and her ministers with the Ottomans, which Tyerman sees as marking "a decisive break in the traditional unity of Christendom"; rather than ascribing that break to all of England, we may instead view these dramatic works as endorsing crusading unity, since, as Housley explains, "it is arguable that the concept of Christendom, the first to take shape among the various preconditions for the crusading movement, was also the last to vanish."¹⁰⁵ To a greater extent than the poems of James I and Spenser, these plays by Marlowe, Heywood, and Shakespeare manage to avoid any mention of Protestant–Catholic division, using the tradition of the crusading romance to preserve the "concept of Christendom" in a new literary form and to hope for its recovery against the Turks through a combination of imagined alliances and conversion.

Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* plays have prompted much scholarly debate on subjects ranging from their sources and reception to their relationship to various early modern concerns such as self-fashioning, the power of rhetoric, the effects of exploration, and changes in dramatic style, as well as their connection to Marlowe's personal life.¹⁰⁶ Recent readings of the *Tamburlaine* plays have examined their representation of Turks and have focused on English imperialism and Anglo–Ottoman relations under Elizabeth I, particularly in relation to Catholic Spain's hostility toward Protestant England.¹⁰⁷ In light of Marlowe's other plays that dramatize religious difference and conflict, particularly *The Jew of Malta* (c. 1589) with its threatened crusading conflict between the Hospitallers and the Turks and *The Massacre at Paris* (c. 1593) with its struggle between Protestants and Catholics, this focus on the religious and political significance of the *Tamburlaine* plays is valuable.¹⁰⁸ While these interpretations usefully point out the plays' engagement with the religious conflicts of the late sixteenth century, they rarely consider the rise of this "Scythian shepherd" (1:1.2.154) who becomes "king of Persia" (1:2.7.67) in terms of the narrative patterns and themes found in medieval crusade discourse.¹⁰⁹ As I see it, the *Tamburlaine* plays not only reimagine a critical moment in medieval crusading history, when the Mongol warlord Timur (1336–1405) inadvertently saved Constantinople from the Turks, but they also redeploy the narrative

structure and features of the English crusading romance, thus connecting the novelty of their blank verse, bombastic language, and forceful Eastern protagonist to the medieval literary tradition that imagined the reform of Christendom through the potential conversion of Muslims and through the recovery of Christian lands. Like several medieval crusading romances, Marlowe's plays hold out the possibility of the conversion of Tamburlaine, portrayed as a semi-pagan, semi-Islamic noble warrior, but they also employ the success of the ambiguous conqueror as a way of shaming contemporary Christendom – England included – over its own weakness and division.¹¹⁰ By examining medieval and early modern historical texts that present Tamburlaine as a prospective ally in conjunction with the plays' major scenes showing Tamburlaine's favor towards Christians and hostility towards the Turks, we can perceive how Marlowe's plays are as traditional as they are radical, especially in their invocation of conventional crusading concepts.

Part I of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* describes the protagonist's rise to power from his beginning as a shepherd to his defeat of the Turkish and Egyptian sultans; it begins with Tamburlaine taking advantage of internal dissension in the Persian kingdom to acquire the Persian crown. He also captures Zenocrate, the daughter of the Egyptian sultan, and keeps her until he may crown her as his queen. After becoming king of Persia, Tamburlaine forces the Turkish sultan Bajazeth to raise his siege of Christian Constantinople and then defeats and captures him, locking Bajazeth in an iron cage and using him as a footstool until he commits suicide. The play ends with Tamburlaine's siege and destruction of Damascus, with his capture of the Egyptian sultan, and with his marriage to Zenocrate. Part II describes Tamburlaine's further conquests from the height of his power to his death. It begins with an ahistorical revision of the crusading battle of Varna of 1444 between the Christian forces of Ladislas of Hungary and Janos Hunyadi and the Turkish forces of Sultan Murad II, where a Christian ruler that Marlowe calls Sigismond betrays his sworn peace to the Turks and is defeated. Elsewhere Callapine, Bajazeth's son, escapes from captivity and attempts to regain his father's empire, while Tamburlaine tries to teach his three sons to be like him and Zenocrate dies from illness. Callapine joins with other Eastern kings to fight Tamburlaine, but Tamburlaine captures all of them except Callapine and harnesses them to his chariot. The play ends with Tamburlaine's destruction of Babylon (conflated with Baghdad), his burning of the Koran, which he calls the "Turkish Alcaron" (2:5.1.172), and his defiance of Mohammed, which are all followed by another defeat of Callapine

and the last of the Turkish forces and by the conqueror's death from an "accidental heat" (2:5.3.84) that dries up his vital spirits, but which some scholars have seen as divine judgment.¹¹¹

Though the *Tamburlaine* plays are certainly polyvalent texts, even in this summary their narrative outline shows a notable affinity with medieval crusading romances, since both parts concentrate on the defeat and humiliation of Turkish or Islamic enemies and the "recovery" of their lands by a ruler who is consistently presented as favoring Christians.¹¹² A few scholars have connected *Tamburlaine* to the medieval romance; J. S. Cunningham calls *Tamburlaine* "in part a chivalric hero," while Richard Martin, who argues that the plays manipulate romance conventions, writes, "*Tamburlaine's* actions and his defiance of Muhammed are strictly in accord with orthodox Christianity ... [he] makes Christianity possible in the Muslim empire."¹¹³ Kirk Melnikoff, by comparison, has explored the role of Richard Jones, the plays' printer, in shaping their reception; Melnikoff concludes that Jones viewed the plays as a kind of exemplary history and "was ... very likely fashioning his *Tamburlaine* for the established print market of collected poetry and chivalric literature – a market that he had done much to shape."¹¹⁴ In this respect the printed text of the plays could be received as related to other stories of crusading, such as Book I of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, as well as historical writing on the Turks. In addition to this emphasis on the plays' mixture of chivalry and history, Richard Levin has demonstrated that the contemporary response to the plays viewed *Tamburlaine's* defeat of the Turks positively, thus making their connection to crusade discourse more apparent.¹¹⁵ Indeed, recent critics partially acknowledge Marlowe's pro-Christian portrayal of *Tamburlaine*. Jonathan Burton and Matthew Dimmock argue that in Part I he acts as the "protector of Europe" or even "on behalf of an explicitly Christian God," respectively, and Daniel Vitkus notes generally that "Protestants in England ... did not abandon the principle of a just holy war," but they are all reluctant to see both plays as endorsing crusading thought or activity, usually because of the Christian betrayal at the beginning of Part II or because of *Tamburlaine's* increasing cruelty.¹¹⁶ However, *Tamburlaine's* protection of Constantinople in Part I and the Christian betrayal in Part II contribute to the defense and reform of Christendom by serving as *exempla* depicting a proper crusading leader. More significantly, *Tamburlaine's* defiance of Islam in Part II is itself a kind of conversion scene, one which is not fully completed partly because of historical information about Timur and partly because the scene comments on Christendom's failures to work effectively with Eastern allies.

While I am not suggesting that Marlowe's Tamburlaine is derived directly from a medieval crusading romance, his character bears some similarity to the figure of the converted Muslim warrior in crusading romances such as the anonymous *The Sowdone of Babylone* (c. 1400), a Middle English crusading romance featuring Charlemagne and his twelve peers examined in the previous chapter. In this poem the sultan's son, Ferumbras, is a mighty Muslim warrior who is incredibly destructive: he pillages Italy, sacks Rome, and helps his father to kill 10,000 maidens in pursuit of the latter's quest to destroy "all / The sede ... [of] Cristianté."¹⁷ Nonetheless, Ferumbras ultimately converts and assists Charlemagne in recovering holy relics as well as "rightful" Christian territory in Italy and Spain, reflecting on contemporary English crusading interests in those areas. Marlowe's treatment of Tamburlaine contains some broad similarities with *The Sowdone of Babylone*, since the plays reimagine a historical figure to highlight a contemporary crusading opponent (i.e., the Turks) and to portray the recovery of lands for, if not a converted Christian ruler, then a strong Eastern ally who battles Islamic enemies. Moreover, just as the sultan's ineffectual vows and threats are contrasted with Charlemagne's fulfillment of his vows to defeat the sultan, so too Tamburlaine's exchanges of threats with his enemies prove that his "words are oracles" (1:3.3.102) and that his Muslim opponents speak in vain.¹⁸ Since a version of this crusading romance was staged around 1586 in the lost play *The Twelve Peers of France*, Marlowe's plays would constitute another, more influential example of the English stage modifying key features of the romance tradition.

Marlowe did not have to rely solely on the crusading romance to develop the idea of portraying Tamburlaine as a Christian ally and potential convert. As Adam Knobler and Margaret Meserve explain, *Tamburlaine's* historical subject, the Mongol Timur, was incorporated by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century authors into an existing crusading tradition that sought allies in the East; this tradition eventually promoted the Persians as allies against the Turks.¹⁹ Evidence of this link between a "Persian" Tamburlaine and crusading can be found early in English historical sources, though they contain several intriguing errors. The medieval chronicler Adam of Usk (c. 1350–1430), for example, reports Timur's defeat of Bajazeth while associating the former with Persia:

[Tamburlaine], the son of the king of Persia, conquered and took captive in a stricken field the soldan of the Turks of Babylon ... who had struck great dread into Christendom, as boasting that he would destroy the faith, and who had been wont to invade the Christians, and especially the Hungarians, with a hundred thousand warriors; and he [i.e., Tamburlaine] utterly destroyed Jerusalem, and

held those parts with great state. Wherefore the pilgrimage of Christians to those parts is now hindered.¹²⁰

Identifying Timur incorrectly as the “son of the king of Persia,” Usk, though concerned about his fictitious destruction of Jerusalem, approves of his defeat of the Turkish sultan, who is linked to “Babylon” and to a desire to “destroy the [Christian] faith.” Usk’s brief entry contains no hint of Timur’s possible conversion, but a different account in the early fifteenth-century *St. Albans Chronicle* calls Timur the “King of Letto” [Lithuania] and claims he killed the son of Bajazeth, destroyed Jerusalem, and converted to Christianity “because such an amazing victory was given to him from heaven,” with the result that he, “with sixty thousand men of his sect ... in token of their faith, now wore white garments overlaid with red crosses on top of their armor.”¹²¹ This version of Timur’s defeat of Bajazeth substitutes the Lithuanian ruler for Timur and a fictitious son of Bajazeth for the sultan himself. Moreover, the author’s additions about Timur’s conversion along with 60,000 men wearing crusader garments seem to be literary fantasy, but they are more understandable when we recall that the pagan ruler of Lithuania, Jogaila, did convert himself and his realm to Christianity in 1386 in order to gain the Polish crown and to forestall the crusades of the Teutonic Knights against him, thereby confirming that crusading could acquire Eastern allies. Soon after the historical battle, then, the medieval chronicle tradition already interpreted Timur and his actions through the lens of crusade discourse, sometimes by combining him with other figures and inventing a more desirable conclusion.

Although medieval chronicles can be notoriously inaccurate, Henry IV of England’s diplomatic exchange with the real Timur reveals the influence of this kind of thinking, as he encourages the Muslim ruler to convert:

If only, glorious Prince [i.e., Timur], such a day may smile on us in which your Highness would profess ... [the faith of] our Lord Jesus Christ ... and the religion of the orthodox faith with willing heart, as an attentive Catholic prince and steward of the Christian Church who will set himself powerfully against the enemies of the cross ... thereby receiving infinite reward.¹²²

In the rest of his letter Henry congratulates Timur on his victory over the Turks, thanks him for his kindness toward Christian merchants, and addresses him as “beloved friend in God,” but his hope that the conqueror will become “an attentive Catholic prince” who battles against the “enemies of the cross” seems to wish for the kind of conversion described in the *St. Albans Chronicle* and familiar from romances such as *The Sowdone of Babylone*.¹²³ Though the passage cited from Henry’s letter hoping he will

convert and earn spiritual reward against Christendom's foes is crossed out in the manuscript – perhaps Henry had second thoughts – it and the other medieval sources nonetheless illustrate how crusade discourse could reshape historical events into a particular narrative where conversion and the recovery of Eastern territory were perceived as interrelated.

Later historical sources in the early modern period knew that Timur did not convert, but this tradition of associating Tamburlaine with Persia and of considering the Persians as allies against the Turks continued to Marlowe's time. Two of Marlowe's likely sources for the *Tamburlaine* plays, Pedro Mexía's *Silva de Varia Leci3n* (1542) and George Whetstone's *The English Mirror* (1586), identify Tamburlaine as a Parthian – a territory of Persia – and highlight his early rise to become king of Persia. Mexía and Whetstone also include a theory about the history of Tamburlaine's empire and struggle against the Turks after his death. They report that two Persian figures carried on Tamburlaine's battle against the Turks, or, as Whetstone put it, that "[T]he successors of *Tamberlaines* sons possessed the provinces conquered by him about the river of *Euphrates*, until the time of king *Usancasan*, & according to the opinion of some writers, of the heyres of this *Usancasan*, was chosen the first *Sophy*, who to this day (to the benefit of all Christendom) maintaineth mortall wars against the great *Turk*."¹²⁴ The first ruler Whetstone describes, Uzun Hasan (1423–78), was a historical lord of the Turkmens of Anatolia who married a Greek Christian, fought the Ottomans, and was identified as king of Persia by Europeans; the second, Shah Ismail Safavid (1487–1524), known as the "Sophy," was Hasan's grandson, who captured Baghdad and also defied the Turks. The historical Uzun Hasan is the inspiration for Tamburlaine's loyal companion Usumcasane in Marlowe's plays; perhaps Marlowe's choice of name echoes Whetstone's parenthetical point that such men fight "to the benefit of all Christendom," and thus continues the tradition of viewing the Persians as potential crusading allies.¹²⁵ This view seems more likely when we consider that Marlowe's plays were composed just before the end of the Ottoman–Safavid war (1578–90), in which the Persians were viewed as helpfully distracting Turkish armies from Europe.¹²⁶

While English historical sources no longer hoped for Tamburlaine's formal conversion, many presented him as behaving very much like an ideal Christian ruler. A major example of this view is found in Knolles's *Generall Historie*, which may have been available to Marlowe in manuscript form.¹²⁷ Knolles exalts Tamburlaine and later the Sophy while censuring Bajazeth and other Turkish leaders, relying in some cases on Giovio's earlier history, translated by Ashton in 1546.¹²⁸ Knolles's version of Tamburlaine's life not

only presents him as a noble hero, but also seems to recall the medieval sources by emphasizing his friendliness towards Christians in a manner that suggests an inclination towards conversion. According to Knolles, Tamburlaine undertakes a special journey to Jerusalem:

[Tamburlaine] rode to IERUSALEM to visit the sepulchre so much reuerenced of all nations, and there to make his oblations: where hee was of the inhabitants joyfully receiued, and ... would be conducted vnto all the places thereabouts, where Iesus Christ had preached, euen as the pilgrimes doe: and comming to the sepulchre, gaue thereunto, and the deuout there, many rich and precious gifts, to the great contentment of all men (to see him honour those holy places).¹²⁹

Here Tamburlaine no longer destroys Jerusalem but instead is welcomed by the city, and he visits the holy sites commemorating Jesus "euen as the [Christian] pilgrimes doe," offering "precious gifts." This behavior suggests strong sympathy for Christian worship and is confirmed when Tamburlaine "remained eleuen dayes, daily visiting the Sepulchre of Christ Iesus (whom hee called the God of the Christians) ... And to shew his deuotion towards the holy citie, commaunded it to be free from all subsidies and garrisons ... and gaue great gifts vnto the monasteries."¹³⁰ The privileges granted to the city and the "great gifts" to Christian monasteries all demonstrate his "deuotion," so that the parenthetical remark about Jesus being the "God of the Christians" is undercut by Tamburlaine's favoring of Christians, especially in light of Knolles's remark elsewhere that Tamburlaine was advised by a Christian prince called Axalla and that the conqueror showed remarkable religious tolerance, "disliking of no man for his religion whatsoever, so as he did worship but one only God."¹³¹ From this position it would only be a small leap to imagine that Tamburlaine would have eventually converted to Christianity if given the chance. This hope was easily transferred to later Persian rulers such as Uzun Hasan, who in Italian sources became "San Cassano," or St. Cassan, directly paralleling the crusading romance theme of the conversion of infidels into the Christian God's champions.¹³²

Regardless of whether Marlowe was influenced by an early draft of Knolles's history, then, the *Tamburlaine* plays were composed in a milieu that tended to view Eastern conquerors who fought the Turks as potentially or nearly Christian; this stance comes from a long tradition of medieval crusading thought that attempted to blend its hopes for the conversion of powerful rulers with the recovery of Christian power in the East. The more general context of late sixteenth-century English culture also provides evidence for viewing Marlowe's popular plays as drawing upon the crusading romance. Although it is true that in the 1570s and 1580s Queen Elizabeth

and parts of the English government were creating an alliance with the Turks, the populace continued to offer prayers against the infidel Turk and to hope for united Christian military action.¹³³ Some English nobles under Elizabeth obtained permission to fight with the emperor against the Turks, while several tracts were printed in the 1590s that denounced England's alliance with the Ottomans or celebrated victories over them.¹³⁴ Several key instances in Marlowe's plays, including Tamburlaine's saving of Constantinople, his concern for enslaved Christians, and his rejection of Islam during his burning of the Koran, reveal not only how the defeat of the Turks should inspire contemporary Christians, but also how their failure to seek Tamburlaine's conversion was a missed opportunity.

Tamburlaine's rescue of Constantinople and defeat of Bajazeth in Part I afford the first sustained view of the conqueror as inflicting vengeance on the Turks for their attacks on Christians. Before he fights Bajazeth, Tamburlaine explains his plan of conquest:

I that am termed the scourge and wrath of God,
The only fear and terror of the world,
Will first subdue the Turk, and then enlarge
Those Christian captives which you keep as slaves

...

That naked row about the Terrene sea

...

These are the cruel pirates of Argier [i.e., Algiers]

...

Inhabited with straggling runagates [renegades],
That make quick havoc of the Christian blood.

(1:3.3.44–58)

In this speech, the first of many mentions of Tamburlaine as the "scourge and wrath of God," he outlines a plan that, as others have noted, anachronistically addresses early modern fears about the Turks themselves and specifically about the Barbary pirates of Algiers, who enslaved Christians and who often convinced or compelled them to convert, thereby becoming "renegades."¹³⁵ Yet this general notion of the "scourge of God," that the Christian God permitted his enemies to defeat his people, usually because of their sinfulness, until he later exacted vengeance and granted victory, was familiar in the English crusading romance and fits neatly into crusade discourse's general, cyclical pattern of loss and recovery.¹³⁶ Marlowe's portrayal of Tamburlaine "recovering" Constantinople for Christians and "scourging" the Turks in sixteenth-century terms, then, parallels other authors' presentation of current crusading conflicts with the Turks as

shaped by past struggles. Ashton's translation of Giovio's *Commentario de le cose de' Turchi* and Newton's translation of Curione's *Sarracenica historiae* describe Tamburlaine's defeat of Bajazeth and use it along with the victories of Scanderbeg and the loss at Varna as a means to incite audiences to launch new crusades; indeed, Ashton's text concludes with a recovery plan where the emperor and the rulers of France and England launch a three-fold attack on the Turks with the English capturing Constantinople, while Newton's text hopes that a "Christian league" will recover Constantinople, free Christian slaves, and spread the faith.¹³⁷

In this respect, Tamburlaine's plan to defeat Bajazeth, subdue Africa, and protect the Venetian gulf, the Bay of Portugal, and "all the ocean by the British shore" (1:3.3.259) sounds remarkably helpful to an early modern crusading plan. Bajazeth himself remarks on the significance of his defeat for the Christians:

And never had the Turkish emperor
So great a foil by any foreign foe.
Now will the Christian miscreants be glad,
Ringing with joy their superstitious bells
And making bonfires for my overthrow.

(1:3.3.234–8)

Bajazeth's response to his loss, that he has been overthrown by a "foreign foe" to the benefit of the "Christian miscreants," indicates not only that the English audience was expected to view this defeat positively, but also that it provided an opportunity for Christians to take offensive action. John Foxe's *Actes and Monumentes*, which laments the Christian negligence and infighting that prevented their recovery of Christian lands, views Bajazeth's defeat in just such a manner, for Foxe comments that after Bajazeth's death the Turkish empire was severely weakened, and "In these such discordes and diuisions among the Turkes, what occasions were geue[n] to the Christians to haue recouered agayne of the Turkes, that they had lost, if they had not ben either neglige[n]t, or in their owne priuate warres otherwise occupied with them selues."¹³⁸ Thus, when the Christian leaders betray their sworn peace and are defeated by the Turks in Part II in a historically displaced version of the battle of Varna, that scene contrasts their failure with Tamburlaine's earlier open defiance and success in order to shame contemporary Christians into united, "righteous" (2:2.1.48) action, not treaties and treachery, against the Turks.¹³⁹

The same configuration of Tamburlaine as the helpful scourge of Christians' enemies and liberator of Christians is repeated in Part II. There Tamburlaine mainly accomplishes his plan of world conquest through his

subordinates, leaving Christendom untouched; he declares that he acts “To scourge the pride of such as Heaven abhors” (2:4.1.149); and his opponents again threaten Tamburlaine by reference to enslaved Christians, saying that he “shall be tied in chains, / Rowing with Christians in a brigandine / About the Grecian isles to rob and spoil” (2:3.5.92–4). Even at the height of what some see as his bloodthirsty cruelty in Part II at the siege of Babylon, Tamburlaine remains sympathetic to Christians, since a citizen tells the governor that despite his black tents being displayed, “Yet are there Christians of Georgia here / Whose state he ever pitied and relieved, / Will get his pardon” (2:5.1.31–3) if they are sent to plead. But Part II’s strongest link with the narrative expectations of the crusading romance comes with Tamburlaine’s burning of the Koran and defiance of Mohammed in captured Babylon, which has all the trappings of a conversion scene, where he declares:

In vain, I see, men worship Mahomet:
My sword hath sent millions of Turks to hell

...

And yet I live untouched by Mahomet.
There is a God full of revenging wrath

...

Whose scourge I am, and him will I obey

...

Well, soldiers, Mahomet remains in hell

...

Seek out another godhead to adore,
The God that sits in heaven, if any god,
For he is God alone, and none but he.

(2:5.1.178–201)

Here Tamburlaine emphasizes his destruction of “millions of Turks” and the impotence of Mohammed, whom he says is “not worthy to be worshippèd” (2:5.1.188), and then declares his allegiance to “a God full of revenging wrath,” who in this context must be the Christian God. While some view this scene as inviting divine retribution, when placed in relation to the religious hostility of the crusading romance, it suggests instead that Tamburlaine’s seeking for “The God that sits in heaven” would have resulted in his conversion from a noble pagan warrior to a true champion of the faith and the “recovery” of Christian lands if Europe had aided the Persian king.¹⁴⁰

In the context of English historical writing about Tamburlaine and continued interest in crusading thought about conversion and conquest in the East, Marlowe’s plays show that a “medieval” Tamburlaine lived on

in early modern England and could be used to endorse united Christian action even while the government was allying with the Turks. Though in several respects the two parts of *Tamburlaine* mark a new direction in early modern literature that would have tremendous influence on many later works, ultimately Marlowe's dramas are not far from the imagined historical conversions of the *St. Albans Chronicle* and Henry IV's letter or the literary conversions in texts such as *The Sowdone of Babylone*. Moreover, the plays were initially composed and performed at a time when the Persians were in an extended conflict with the Turks which, in the view of some early modern authors, Christians could have used as an opportunity to recover lands or acquire new allies or both. Marlowe's plays are able to employ the features of the crusading romance in Protestant England since from their beginning crusading practices themselves were adaptable, surviving because of a potent narrative structure of loss and recovery. As strange as it may seem, English audiences found in the conqueror's "high astounding terms" and "scourging [of] kingdoms" (1:Prol.5–6) a novel presentation of the longstanding crusading issue of Christendom's expansion through conversion.

In contrast to Marlowe's plays' sweep through Persia, Greece, Egypt, and Africa, Heywood's *The Four Prentices* takes its audience from London to France, Italy, Ireland, and ultimately the Holy Land, which is held by "the two greatst Emperours of the earth, / The Babylonian Soldan, and great [Persian] Sophy" (2349–50).¹⁴¹ At the beginning of the play, the old Earl of Boloigne (i.e., the duke of Bouillon, Godfrey's father) laments to his daughter, Bella Franca, that he is "In soule deject, and banisht from [his] land" (12) by the French king, who has seized his dukedom while the Earl was helping William, the "now English Conquerour" (17). The Earl's loss of his inheritance and title causes him to place his four sons – Godfrey, Guy, Charles, and Eustace – as apprentices to various trades in London, while he "will travaile to the holy Land" (40) in "Pilgrimage" (164) to fill his "vow" (135) to visit the Holy Sepulcher. After their father's departure, the four brothers abandon their trades when Robert II of Normandy, later called "Brave *English Robert*" (1616), proclaims the "the holy warres at *Hierusalem*" (213); the brothers are separated by shipwreck into various European realms while their sister travels to the Holy Land on her own. After a series of adventures, misrecognitions, negotiations, and combat against "damned Infidels" (2276), the play concludes with the family's complete reunion, with the Christian forces conquering Jerusalem, and with a series of advancements: the old Earl becomes patriarch of the city; Godfrey, having reclaimed his patrimony, refuses the crown of Jerusalem

for a life of holy devotion wearing a “Crowne of Thornes” (2566); Guy becomes king of Jerusalem and marries the daughter of the French king; Eustace becomes king of Sicily; Charles becomes king of Cyprus; Bella Franca marries Tancred of Italy; and Robert of Normandy believes he will become king of England and leaves “with the honour of the Pagans deaths” (2570).

Freely mixing history and fiction in its narrative of crusading combat, Heywood’s play treats the crusade to Jerusalem as a way to celebrate Christian – as well as specifically English – achievements, as when Godfrey declares that “Christians at home abroad [spread] our conquests fame” (2299). *The Four Prentices* also emphasizes the diversity of the Christian forces, containing English, French, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, German, and Spanish troops, and of their Islamic opponents, which include “Moores ... *Babylonians, Persians, Bactrians ... Grecians, Russians ... Tartarians, [and] Turkes*” (2277–9). Though the two Muslim leaders are the Soldan of Egypt and the Persian Sophy, the catalogue of their troops and domains ahistorically stretches from northern Africa to Egypt and the Holy Land to Turkey, thus functioning as a refracted version of the empire of the Ottoman Turks. This correspondence also can be detected in the characters’ anti-Islamic rhetoric, as when the Soldan is called “grand enemy to CHRIST, / [and] [t]he devils Liuetenant” (1614–15), recalling similar language used by Heywood’s contemporaries about the Turks’ devilish nature and their status as the common or public enemy. Additionally, the text’s multiple references to early modern weaponry (i.e., guns, cannon, and pikes) and military tactics blur the distinction between the past and present, while its changes to crusading history, such as having the old duke of Bouillon support William’s conquest of England, making the imaginary Guy the first king of Jerusalem rather than the historical Godfrey, increasing actual English participation in the First Crusade, and replacing several of the historical leaders of the campaign with the four “anglicized” French brothers, reveal how *The Four Prentices* reshapes history in order to address early modern crusading concerns. Heywood’s play ignores the issue of conversion, which had been a key aspect of Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*, instead presenting a strict dichotomy between the Christians and “mis-beleeving Infidels” (936), who themselves invoke “our Pagan gods” (1213) and “heathen powers” (1661) and who possess the Holy Land through unlawful conquest and “tyranny” (1538). As with Marlowe’s plays, however, *The Four Prentices* selects and re-envision a critical moment in crusading history. The play does so in order to highlight the associational forms that bind “Christendome” (1063) into a “Christian Hoast” (1124)

that opposes "Gods enemies" (1068) and to rebuke those early modern rulers who prevent crusading, thereby returning to concerns expressed nearly 300 years earlier in *Richard Cœur de Lion* and still found in early modern English writing.

Described as "essentially a romance in dramatic form," Heywood's play appealed broadly to English tradesmen and nobility to remember (or invent) past crusading glory; it also refers obliquely to the power of the Ottomans and concentrates on the success of combined Christian military action in the Holy Land.¹⁴² Despite its importance as the surviving example of a set of plays about the conquest of Jerusalem performed in the 1590s, *The Four Prentices* has received scant critical attention, perhaps because of its subject matter and because it has been characterized as "immature" work by an artist incapable of writing true tragedy.¹⁴³ More recent scholarship has examined the play in light of English engagement with the Ottoman Turks and developing mercantile interests in the Levant. For instance, Nabil Matar sees it as creating a "polarization between the English and the infidels [that] is shown to be exclusively religious," making Heywood's work part of a "holy war jingoism [that] had been echoed in English religious and political culture even during the Elizabethan period when the queen had had amicable relations with the Muslims."¹⁴⁴ Fenella Macfarlane, by contrast, views the play as employing what she calls merchant chivalry to respond to English trade in the Levant, portraying a stage in the formation of the middle class "through its analeptic use of crusading ideology."¹⁴⁵ Finally, Annaliese Connolly argues that the "palimpsestic effect" of medieval stories such as that of the First Crusade creates a "stark contrast with the reality of more complex Anglo-Ottoman relations," and therefore has a "subversive potential" to make the audience "aware of the disjunction between the past and the present."¹⁴⁶ All of these studies identify the play's positive portrayal of crusading; building on this insight, I argue that the play incorporates the crusading romance into the theater through its unusual triple prologue and dumb shows, and that key changes in Heywood's version of the First Crusade respond to elements in popular culture and historical writing that promoted a united Christendom despite England's religious change.

Although there are no known direct sources for *The Four Prentices*, its likely major influences are crusade narratives or works discussing crusading positively, thus locating it in an ongoing tradition of English engagement stretching back over a hundred years. In terms of style, Heywood's drama is indebted to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* for its bombastic rhetoric and love for boastful combat.¹⁴⁷ For its content, however, the play perhaps

uses some details from Caxton's *Godeffroy of Boloyne* (1481), a later crusading romance that portrays Godfrey as the hero of the First Crusade and also mentions incorrectly that he had three brothers.¹⁴⁸ Heywood was also potentially inspired by *The Nine Worthies of London* (1592), a short text by Richard Johnson, the future author of the prose crusading romance *The Seven Champions of Christendom*. *The Nine Worthies of London*, self-consciously invoking the medieval group of nine heroes (including Godfrey), relates in short verse narratives the heroic deeds of historical and fictional London citizens, and concludes with the fantastically imaginary story of an English grocer called Henry, living in the reign of Henry IV, who voluntarily joined a crusade, using his "defensiue force that fought for Christ," to help the Jews defend Jerusalem from heathens.¹⁴⁹ According to Johnson's story, no other Christians except the English would help because of "intestiue strife" in Europe, and Henry the Grocer "sawe Hierusalem regainde" before eventually returning to London. While Heywood could have found the idea of London citizens becoming crusading heroes in Johnson's text and heroic treatments of Godfrey in Caxton's text or others like it, his decision to combine the two seems original; more importantly, Heywood's emphasis on English prowess and presence in the First Crusade allows for imaginative English participation even as it hopes for renewed crusading activity.

The Four Prentices employs many features of the crusading romance, illustrating the persistent effect of the genre even when the medieval verse romances were no longer printed after the 1560s. The imagery of the cross, pilgrimage, the reform of Christendom, penitence in combination with combat with the infidel, as well as the narrative pattern of loss and recovery all contribute to the political meaning of *The Four Prentices*, but, as in *Lepanto*, there is no mention of the pope or indulgences. This silent elimination of Catholic aspects troublesome to a Protestant audience is nonetheless balanced by entirely positive references to saints, including St. George himself (216, 1658) in the context of his role as crusaders', not the English, patron, indicating how some early modern audiences could view Spenser's Redcrosse as a crusading hero. Indeed, Heywood's play would have resonated with Spenser's recently printed romance, as it describes (and presumably staged) its heroes as wearing crosses on their chests: the Soldan says "Stand Christians, by your Crosses on your brests / Yee're markt for death, and base destruction" (1607–8), ironically misreading the crusaders' crosses as a "mark" of their death rather than of Jesus' salvational power, while Godfrey later prays, "Thou Saviour of the world, whose Crosse we beare, / Infuse our hearts with courage, theirs with feare" (2322–3). As the

play progresses the cross, rather than simply distinguishing Christian from Muslim, acquires multiple levels of signification, as when Charles calls the "Crosse" (1891) where Jesus died "our Saviours Livery" (1893), linking the crusader's cross through the language of service to the "[a]rmes" (1694) of the trades that the four brothers use as their personal heraldic devices and which they hang as "Trophies" (2563) in Jerusalem. In addition to its identifying, inspirational, and service meanings, the cross takes on political import when the Soldan says, "There is some vertue in the Crosse they weare ... They have tane our Royall Standard from the wals, / In place whereof they have advanc'd their Crosse" (2369–73), combining its protective power or "vertue" with the supplanting of Muslim political claims by Christian ones; finally, the cross takes on a personally religious meaning, as when Eustace declares after his banishment from camp, "in my heart I weare the Crosse of CHRIST" (1787), showing the depth of his commitment. Heywood's play encodes crusading claims visually and metaphorically in cross imagery in a way that subordinates the claims of the London merchant devices to trade investments in the Holy Land without overwriting them, thus suggesting to his audience that the latter activity should support the former.

The Four Prentices also uses the crusading romance's features of pilgrimage, reform, and penitential combat to reflect on the medieval tradition and to advocate renewed Christian efforts. As previously noted, the play begins with the Earl leaving England on pilgrimage for Jerusalem to fill his "devoute vowes" (42) and to spend his last years "in poverty and prayer" (165). The Earl's age and devotion make his journey an appropriate expression of piety that is ultimately acknowledged by his becoming patriarch of Jerusalem, but this idea of pilgrimage is clearly distinguished in the play from the holy war that the brothers undertake. The pagan leaders, troubled by the news of the Christians' arrival in the Holy Land, ask them if they come in peace as "holy Pilgrimes" (1334) to see their "Prophets Tombe" (1333), but Godfrey responds that they have come "with pilgrimes hearts, not pilgrims habits" (1395), and with "religious thoughts" (1399) to "hew our way through your maine Armies, / And offer at the Tombe our contrite hearts / Made purple with ... many Pagans blouds" (1396–8). This distinction between pilgrimage and holy war acknowledges their shared emphasis on "contrite hearts" and thoughts, but it is the crusaders' anti-Islamic militancy, not peaceful pilgrimage, that in the play's view will reform the various problems within Christendom. This connection between crusading and reform is evident in seemingly incidental episodes, such as when Charles and Eustace amend the behavior of the band of

outlaws in Italy who had captured and robbed the Earl while on his pilgrimage through their military prowess, making them from “vild villaines” (448) into “Christians” (451) so that they are “reform’d” (811); in turn, this transformation allows Charles and Eustace to persuade Tancred to use his forces intended to put down the outlaws “Gainst Pagans that besiege *Hierusalem*” (808). Pilgrimage, though repeatedly mentioned in *The Four Prentices*, is shown to be ineffective in changing bad Christian behavior or for allowing unfettered religious devotion in the Holy Land, as when the again-captured Earl is brought out by the Soldan and Sophy to be tortured before the Christian troops. The penitential aspects of pilgrimage and its focus on visiting holy places are instead subsumed into crusading combat, a shift emphasized by Robert’s announcement upon arriving at Jerusalem:

Now in that holy place, where GOD himself
Was personally present, Pagans dwell.
False Gods are reard, each Temple Idols beares.
Oh who can see this, and abstaine from teares?

(1870–3)

This call to repentant tears is part of an extended account of various holy places and the events that occurred there by Godfrey, Charles, and Tancred (1858–902), who each conclude with a variation on Robert’s last line about tears. Tancred, for example, proclaims his “true submission, and right holy zeale” (1900) and asks that the crusaders “in contrition weepe repentant teares” (1902), while Robert, in a manner recalling the Venetian chorus in *Lepanto*, states after the conquest of Jerusalem that they must “With penitentiall praises laude our God, / Ascribe all glory to the heavenly Powers, / Since *Syon* and *Hierusalem* are ours” (2382–4). The play’s stress on submission, repentance, and “penitentiall praises” in its ending section is more than just a dramatic version of the religious behavior of the historical crusaders before the walls of Jerusalem; rather, its replacement of repeatedly threatened pilgrimage with penitential crusading conquest and reform implies that contemporary English crusading could create greater freedom for Christian pilgrims and other unarmed travelers, such as merchants, while also bringing spiritual and political benefits.¹⁵⁰

All of these features derived from the crusading romance are sustained by *The Four Prentices*’s use of the narrative pattern of loss and recovery. In the play a series of losses – the Earl’s lands, happiness, title, and income appropriate for his four sons, the separation of the family, and the unity of the Christian crusade leaders – are balanced with their recovery in the Holy Land and in Europe.¹⁵¹ The Earl is able to complete his vow to the

Holy Sepulcher as the new patriarch and stays in Jerusalem; similarly, although Godfrey frees the city of Bouillon from "base bondage" (282) and recovers his father's estate after his shipwreck, he too remains in the Holy Land in a life of religious devotion, while the other three brothers and Bella Franca acquire new crowns and possessions in the East and in Italy through their valor and dedication to crusading. Furthermore, Charles and Eustace redeem the band of outlaws, save their father from death, and save Bella Franca from rape, while Guy and Eustace rescue Robert, Charles, Godfrey, and Tancred from the enemy, thereby earning their return to the "Christian Army" (1117) and restoring its unified status.

Nonetheless, the play makes the most significant use of this narrative pattern in key references to or manipulations of history; these are especially notable in the unusual prologue and other discussions of chronicles or history, in how the representation of crusading's associational forms and their vulnerability to internal division includes criticism of contemporary rulers, and in its strange substitution of Guy for Godfrey as the king of Jerusalem. Before it formally begins *The Four Prentices* calls attention to its relationship to history and to the process of making history. Instead of having one character speak the prologue, Heywood has "three Prologues to one play" (Prol. 9–10) who emerge simultaneously and banter about their roles, revealing the artificial nature of the device. Their discussion quickly turns to the question of belief and historical truth, when one of them reports how a nameless Gentleman declared it was impossible for the play "to be true" and that "none here are bound to beleeeve it" (Prol. 20). Another counters by noting Alexander the Great's conquest of the world seems impossible but is true, and argues, "If we should not beleeeve things recorded in former ages, wee were not worthy that succeeding times should beleeeve things done in these our ages" (Prol. 22–4). This exchange establishes a parallel between belief in things from "former ages" and things done in "our ages," and prompts the question "what authority have you for your History?" (Prol. 25) because some will "beleeeve nothing that is not in the Chronicle" (Prol. 26). The answer to this challenge is "Our authority is a Manuscript" found in a "booke writ in parchment" (Prol. 27) that has not been made "publique" (Prol. 28).¹⁵² This half-serious use of terms validating historical truth, such as history, chronicle, and manuscript, could easily be dismissed as conventional except for the fact that the audience presumably knew that the conquest of Jerusalem was, like Alexander's conquests, both "*True and Strange*" (Prol. 18), and that characters in the play later apply similar language to its events. These

references can appear to be minor, such as Guy's declaration that he will hang his trade shield, which has "rescued Princes" (1714), in their London hall "Till some smoth pen Historifie my name" (1718), or the four brothers' hanging their shields in Jerusalem in "memory" (2461, 2467) of their triumph. However, such references can also look back to events commonly used in crusade discourse to validate holy warfare, as when Robert declares "Behold the high wals of *Hierusalem*, / Which *Titus* and *Vespasian* once brake down" (1858–9), alluding to the historical Roman siege that was itself represented as a crusade campaign in romances such as *The Siege of Jerusalem*. Nonetheless, when the pagan Turnus subsequently reports that the crusaders enter the city through "The selfe-same breach that *Romane Titus* made, / When he destroy'd this Citty" (2367–8), the play alters the details of chronicle accounts of the First Crusade, which typically claim that the crusaders scaled the walls, in order to connect the two events more directly, thus acquiring "authority" for its apprentices' imagined past deeds and, significantly, suggesting that its early modern audience should repeat this crusading action.¹⁵³ That is, when Robert pronounces after the conquest "to heaven ascribe the glory, / Whilst we to *Chronicles* report this story" (2504–5), *The Four Prentices* returns to the "historical" language of the prologue and asserts the play's fundamental "truth." However, the play's portrayal of London apprentices winning the Holy Land with guns and cannon also gives new meaning to the prologue's lines about belief in chronicles and the view of future generations about early modern England, for it encourages its audience to emulate the play's crusading deeds and thus earn their "worthy" place in history.

This curious approach toward crusading history, which, whether through error or deliberate alteration, collapses past events in order to suit crusading interest in the present, is not unique to Heywood's play. A related approach can be seen in a short anonymous report printed in England in 1613, two years before the first surviving printed edition of *The Four Prentices*. The report, *A Famous Victorie, Atchiued in August last 1613*, shows no anti-Catholic feeling and celebrates a recent naval battle between Sicilian and Turkish forces, but its significance lies in its opening condensed account of crusading history.¹⁵⁴ After beginning by declaring, "How the *Turke* at first aspired to his greatnesse ... chiefly by dissension of *Christian* Princes I hold it needlesse for mee to set foorth in writing, because it is a truth commonly knowne, and generally confessed by all Writers: a matter much to be lamented," the anonymous author explores this "common place of our Calamities" and "great losse" by instead turning to "what fruites Concord [among Christians] hath produced," namely

examples from crusading history.¹⁵⁵ His stated goal for doing such is so that “we may all ioyn in one hearty prayer to God, That he would ... con-vnite the heartes of *Christian* Princes in one firme bond of Peace, to the replantation of his Gospell in those conquered Countries, and the extirpation of all *Turcisme* and Idolatrie.”¹⁵⁶ The author’s use of the general crusading narrative pattern is evident in his word choices, such as “losse” and “replantation,” and is reflected in his explanation of the original discord that “lost vs those ample ... Prouinces in the *East*, wherein our Religion was at first propagated,” which is, as he himself admits, a standard view.¹⁵⁷

Still, the text’s succeeding examples, which are drawn from the First and Third Crusades and serve as “confirmation of this Truth,” alter historical details as freely as Heywood’s play does.¹⁵⁸ Surprisingly, it was that “warlike *Saladine*” who first conquered Jerusalem and the “*Holy Land*,” so that Christian rulers combined into the “strong league” under “*Godfrey of Bulloine*, for the recouerie of that Countrie,” after which “that religious *Godfrey*” and other Christian princes ruled there.¹⁵⁹ Though *A Famous Victorie* shares the emphasis of *The Four Prentices* on Godfrey’s devotion, it differs by correctly making Godfrey the first ruler in Jerusalem; however, the text’s mistaken placement of Saladin as the Muslim leader during the First Crusade rather than during the Third creates a potential problem for its account of the latter, where “*Richard* the first, King of this land ... entred into firme League” with the king of France to recover the Holy Land with no explanation offered for how it was lost.¹⁶⁰ Instead, Richard and the French king ahistorically “inuade the *Turkes*” with their “ioynt forces” and “restore a perfect Libertie to the oppressed Inhabitan-tes” of the Holy Land.¹⁶¹ According to the author, in this way “diuers of our ancient Princes acquired true glorie, whilst our Kingdome (beeing at peace in it selfe) was able and willing to imploy her forces against those damned miscreantes.”¹⁶² These changes to crusade history could simply be mistakes, but on the whole this brief account of successful recoveries of the Holy Land appears to adapt history for a purpose similar to that of *The Four Prentices*, since making the English Richard battle the “*Turkes*” in the Holy Land suggests the circumstances of the seventeenth century, not the twelfth; moreover, the emphasis on peace in England as making the English “able and willing” to join a crusade repeats the idea found in the text’s opening prayer for peaceful crusading unity among current Christian rulers. It is not unexpected, then, that *A Famous Victorie* proceeds to relate its titular 1613 naval battle to the battle of Lepanto, with the author promising that he “will limme [paint] out vnto you in a small pourtrait, the true Patterne (some correspondent circumstances considered) of that famous Battaile of *Lepanto*.”¹⁶³

This metaphoric use of a “Patterne” for painting, perhaps also glancing at Platonic forms, connects the two battles so that previous victories can serve as models that can be re-enacted by contemporary crusaders.¹⁶⁴ Of course, the use of past victories to inspire new action was widespread in medieval crusade discourse, and in general crusading romances are rarely historically accurate. However, the more subtle alterations of crusade history to collapse the distance between past and present in these texts – Richard’s fighting the Turks rather than Saladin, or Godfrey’s entering through the same gate as Titus and Vespasian – constitute a noticeably different approach in the early modern period.

A Famous Victorie concludes by highlighting “the common ioy which wee ought all to receiue at the ouer-throw of our common enemy” in contrast to the losses that have occurred because of discord among Christians, and *The Four Prentices* articulates this same idea through its depiction of the associational forms underlying the “Christian Hoast” (1124), its treatment of the problem of “sedition” (1271), and its criticism of contemporary rulers who impede crusading efforts.¹⁶⁵ In the play the four brothers are the catalysts for bringing together the diverse forces of the Christian army, which they acquire by their shipwreck in different realms, as well as the primary causes for dissension in it, as they unknowingly threaten or fight one another for precedence, honor, or, more disturbingly, love for their unrecognized sister. Although eventually all the brothers recognize one another and direct their martial energies against the Soldan and Sophy for the expansion of Christendom, the play uses their infighting and Robert’s attempts to pacify them as a means to examine, however simplistically, the problems confronting early modern leaders. Near the middle of the play three interwoven episodes, which move from one pair of brothers to another and finally to the union of all the Christian forces, illustrate the creation of a crusading association or, in the words of the play, a “perpetuall league” (1123) that has its own laws fashioned “by generall Parliament” (1272).

The play’s portrayal of these associational bonds begins with Charles and Eustace first challenging each other in Italy and then resolving to “jointly o’re these Mountaines raigne” (758) when Tancred marches against them; Tancred perceives their “martiall spirits” (801) and wants to form an “alliance” (803), while Charles tells Tancred “If thou wilt winne renowne, bend thy brave forces / Gainst Pagans that besiege *Hierusalem*” (807–8) instead of fighting Christians. This rapid shift from enmity to cooperation is made possible by all three men’s love for Bella Franca, who becomes a “Hostage” of their “peace” (844), and by their sharing of the

command of the troops to fight the pagans, which implies that fighting among Christians is less worthy than fighting the infidels. This temporary resolution is paralleled by the following scene, in which Godfrey and Guy, respectively leading troops from Bouillon and France through Italy on their way to the Holy Land, dispute over marching precedence. Robert intervenes in their argument by reminding them of their holy cause and demanding that they “cease this envy and abortive jarre” (894), declaring that “this injurious enmity” (911) could cause the “sting / Of blinde seditions, [to] raigne in this our Army” (912–13). This language of enmity and sedition calls attention to the problem of rebellion and discord in joint crusading forces; only when Robert reminds the brothers that they now are listed as soldiers in God’s “booke” (906), and that “mutiny” (908) against God’s “martiall Law” (909) will result in death, do they resolve their quarrel, prompting Robert, leading his “*Englishmen*” (932), to say “Let us unite a friendly Christian league” (937). In two parallel scenes, then, different sets of quarreling Christians join together for a temporary purpose in a political “alliance” or “league” that acknowledges “national” identity and competition without being determined by it.

The next scene, however, tests these associational bonds by bringing the two new collective groups together in opposition to one another in an imagined confrontation between Robert and Tancred not found in the history of the First Crusade. When Tancred, Charles, and Eustace oppose the unannounced passage of Robert, Godfrey, and Guy through Tancred’s lands, *The Four Prentices* not only dramatizes another potential clash between Christians who should be fighting the pagans, but also critiques the obstructions caused by Christian rulers who overemphasize their own sovereignty at the expense of the common good; this view of rulers’ misplaced priorities is also found in historical writing such as Ashton’s *Shorte Treatise vpon the Turkes Chronicles*, Knolles’s *Generall Historie*, or the anonymous *A Famous Victorie*. When the two armies meet, Eustace challenges Robert’s band for intruding without permission “into my Soveraignes royall pale” (961), referring to Tancred’s land and princely authority. Robert, after acknowledging that “over-sight” (981), states that they cannot turn back, seemingly promising combat. Godfrey then delivers a forceful condemnation of any Christian ruler who prevents crusading activity that seems directed more at early modern rulers than at any infighting in the eleventh century:

I see the swords were sharpt ’gainst Infidels,
Must be employ’d to lavish Christian blood.

Upon his soule lie all the heynous guilt,
 Who being a Christian Prince, forbids and barres
 Our quiet passage to these Pagan warres.

(991–5)

This pointed indictment, attributing all the “heynous guilt” to the preventing ruler’s individual soul, threatens religious retribution while constructing a general “Christian” identity that supersedes confessional divisions, notably without reference to the pope or purgatory. These lines could target, for example, Philip II of Spain and his armada against England as preventing “quiet passage” to fighting the Turks, but they could just as easily include Elizabeth I herself, whose alliance and trade with the Ottomans and whose anti-Spanish policy were viewed as a violation of shared Christian identity.¹⁶⁶ In this respect, Heywood’s play does have a “subversive potential,” as Connolly puts it, because the combination of its crusading subject matter with this curse on hindering rulers could express a popular denunciation of England’s anti-crusading government policy. Godfrey’s condemnation of Christian princes who are more concerned with asserting their sovereign authority than with the good of Christendom is echoed by Robert, who declares that “God [is] for us, for our intent is good: / Charg’d be their [i.e., Tancred’s army] soules with all this Christian bloud” (998–9), and who tells Tancred that their forces should pass untroubled because of the “ancient priviledge / Which every Christian brother Prince shold claime / One in the interest of anothers name” (1015–17). Robert’s linking of his good “intent” to an imagined “ancient priviledge” in the brotherhood of Christian princes reveals that, in the play’s view, those rulers who prevent crusaders are culpable and their souls will suffer for it.

Even when offered an explanation for the travelers’ error, Tancred will not yield, and *The Four Prentices* instead resolves the impasse by having the two sets of brothers fight in single combat “Out of ... zeale to God and Christendome” (1028) to demonstrate their “matchlesse valour” (1119). This display allows Robert and Tancred to agree to “reserve [the brothers’] haughty Chivalries, / To exercise against Gods enemies” (1067–8), and for the two leaders to “conjoyne” (1121) their two “*Royall Hoasts*” (1085, my emphasis) into “united bands” (1128), resulting in a single “*Christian Hoast*, / In which true peace should flourish and abound” (1124–5, my emphasis). Although these three interconnected scenes show conflict among Christians as a negative, misdirected use of chivalric violence and the unification of their forces against infidels as desirable, they acknowledge that some tension is inevitable, mainly because various “Soveraignes”

(1113) fail to comprehend the “guilt” and “bloud” that disruptive behavior entails. While unlikely to affect the politics of early modern negotiations, the play’s extended portrayal of the gradual accumulation of Christian forces into a firm league and single army is significant for its less idealized examination of the obstacles early modern crusading forces would have to overcome.

The temporary solution offered in these scenes – the voluntary single combat of champions desiring to “save Christian bloud” (1042) – will develop in the course of *The Four Prentices* into a formal political system with “Statute[s] ... inviolate” (1273) and “Lawes” (1413) made by “Parliament” (1294) that goes beyond the exhortations to unity found in contemporary historical writing, demonstrating the continued development of crusading thought in English literature. In its main points, Heywood’s assessment of the problems facing crusading leaders is remarkably consistent with that found in the more thoughtful histories of the period, as in Knolles’s later *General Historie*, where in his induction to the “Christian reader” Knolles explains that one of the principal reasons for the Turks’ success is

the small care the Christian princes ... haue had of the common state of the Christian Commonweale: whereof euen the verie greatest are to account themselves but as the principall members of one and the same bodie, and haue or ought to haue as sharpe a feeling one of anothers harmes, as hath the head of the wrongs done vnto the feet, or rather as if it were done vnto themselves: in stead of which Christian compassion and vnitie, they haue euer and euen yet at this time are so deuided among themselves with endlesse quarrels, partly for questions of religion (neuer by the sword to bee determined,) partly for matters touching their owne proper state and soueraignetie ... that they neuer could as yet ... ioyne their common forces against the common enemy: but turning their weapons one vpon another (the more to bee lamented) haue from time to time weakened themselves, and opened a way for [the Turks] to deuour them one after another: Whereas with their combined forces (the greedie enemies greatest terrour) they might long since not onely haue repressed his furie ... but with small danger and much glorie ... haue againe recouered from him most of those famous Christian kingdomes, which he by force against all right holdeth at this day in most miserable subiection and thraldome.¹⁶⁷

Describing the “Christian Commonweale” through the familiar metaphor of the body politic, Knolles sets out in this passage several of the same issues preventing crusading activity that are enacted in Heywood’s play using similar language, such as the Christian princes’ concern for “their owne proper state and soueraignetie” over “vnitie,” their weakening of each other through “endlesse quarrels,” and their lack of true compassion

for the “harmes” done to and by one another. Knolles’s analysis also explicitly admits another key reason for crusading inactivity that Heywood’s “historical” play cannot: the “questions of religion” between Protestant and Catholic. However, his parenthetical evasion of this problem, which quickly rejects the possibility of war over Christian religious difference, still subordinates this difference to the larger goal of having the princes “ioyne their common forces against the common enemy,” just as *The Four Prentices* does.

Unlike Knolles’s history, Heywood’s play depicts the enforcement, though not the creation, of laws by a special “generall Parliament” (1272), an idea that goes beyond Knolles’s call for Christian unity by addressing the difficulty of maintaining that unity after it has been achieved. When the crusade leaders all nearly come to blows over their love for Bella Franca, she reminds them that to solve the problem of “sedition in the Christian Campe” (1271) they have made statutes so that “mutiny in Prince or Pesant / Is death, a Kingdome cannot save his life” (1274–5). While this strict penalty of death regardless of status is not fully applied in the story, its description nonetheless appears to be significant for the play, since both Bella Franca and Eustace repeat this idea using various legal terms. To a certain extent the law works; when Guy and Eustace later violate the decree by fighting, Godfrey decries the resulting “injustice” (1371), Robert calls it a “Bedlam mad society” (1374), and Charles admonishes their “haire-braine rage” (1375). Though the final judgment of death is moderated to banishment because of “our regard / Of Christian blood” (1410–11), Robert stresses how Guy and Eustace had to be banished “for examples sake” (1446) and how “we had rather put us in Gods guard ... then to beare with that / Which might in time lead to our overthrow” (1448–50), thus contrasting the religious unity of being in “Gods guard” with the “overthrow” resulting from rebellious Christian infighting. If contemporary Christian princes enacted and enforced such statutes, the play implies, they would be better able to maintain discipline within crusader forces and to direct them against infidels instead of shedding “Christian blood.” This concept is affirmed when Guy and Eustace, despite being banished, maintain their commitment to helping the Christians win Jerusalem and rescue the remaining leaders from the enemy, so that they have, in Robert’s words, “redeem’d all your offences past, / Deserving best in this society” (2096–7), and are restored to Christian association.

Lastly, as mentioned previously, among its several changes to crusading history, *The Four Prentices* ends not with the expected selection of Godfrey as the ruler of Jerusalem, but with the election and rule of his imaginary

younger brother Guy, who becomes “*Guy of Lessingham*” (2444), the “King of *Hierusalem*” (2446). Although Godfrey is offered the crown, he instead dramatically pulls out and wears a crown of thorns in direct imitation of Jesus, declaring “Prayers are my pride, devotion draws my sword, / No pompe but this can *Bullens* soule affoord. / My vow’s irrevocable, state I refuse” (2437–9). Godfrey’s refusal of political “state” and commitment to “[p]rayers” and “devotion” affirm the play’s positive portrayal of crusading’s penitential aspects, but there is no obvious reason for Heywood to substitute the oddly titled Guy to make this point. Instead, as Mary Ann Gasior observes, the name “*Guy of Lessingham*” is probably Heywood’s version of Guy of Lusignan, the king of Jerusalem before the Third Crusade and the ruler of Cyprus after Richard I conquered it.¹⁶⁸ This telescoping of crusade campaigns and personages, although far from historically accurate, emphasizes and celebrates English contributions to crusading in the Holy Land, much as the changes to history in *A Famous Victorie* do. In contrast to that report, however, Heywood adds further details about Guy’s reign that provide some evidence for the deliberate nature of the substitution. Despite winning unanimous approval from the princes for his kingship, when Guy puts on the crown it “burst” and “parted” (2447) from his head, causing him to fear heavenly disapproval. The Earl, claiming he has acquired a “Prophetick spirit” (2450), quickly rejects this idea, and interprets the broken crown to mean that “thy troublous raigne, mutines from farre, / Shall fright thy Townes and Provinces with warre” (2451–2). While the Earl’s prophecy is meant to comfort Guy that he actually is heaven’s choice, the ominous return of the word “mutines” – perhaps simply meaning discord, but suggesting strife from within, even though they come “from farre” – at this point in the narrative unsettles the exultant distribution of realms and honors following the capture of Jerusalem. The real Guy of Lusignan played such a problematic role in the loss of most of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem and in the events surrounding the Third Crusade that he was effaced from *Richard Cœur de Lion* entirely. His strange return here as the first king of Jerusalem, albeit one facing a “troublous raigne” potentially threatened by other Christians, shows how *The Four Prentices* reshapes history in order to highlight the major problems confronting contemporary crusading. This alteration to the expected ending, combined with the play’s use of many of the crusading romance’s features, the prologue’s historical terminology, the portrayal of crusading’s associational forms, and their maintenance through the laws of a fictional parliament, demonstrate the indebtedness of some early modern drama to the medieval literary tradition. However,

the modification of these elements also reveals drama's innovations in crusading thought, as Heywood's play offers its early modern audience a choice between "heynous guilt" (993) and cooperative participation in a "Christian Army" (1117) by pointing out their own tendency to divisiveness and "mutiny."

Although Heywood's play and presumably the other lost English plays on the conquest of Jerusalem remain relatively close to the crusading romance, Shakespeare's *Othello* adopts some material from crusading history and a few elements from the crusading romance and then mixes them with another kind of story, the domestic tragedy. Though several of Shakespeare's plays refer tangentially to the Turks or to crusading, *Othello* (1604) is the playwright's only significant engagement with the history of holy warfare, and even that engagement is partial and inconclusive, occupying only the opening two acts.¹⁶⁹ Even so, recent scholarship has explored how the play, which tells the story of the titular "Moor of Venice" and his fall into murderous jealousy through the scheming of the "hellish villain" (5.2.368) Iago, was written in the context of English interest in Moors, Africa, and Muslims found in texts such as Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589) and the English translation of Leo Africanus's *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600) as well as against the background of periodic visits of Muslim ambassadors to London.¹⁷⁰ Additionally, several critics have examined the play for evidence of English attitudes towards Islam and difference in the early modern period, focusing in particular on Othello's death scene, where he summarizes his service to the Venetian state by recalling his killing of a "malignant and a turbaned Turk" (5.2.352) in terms that are fraught with ambiguity.¹⁷¹ These studies generally see the play in light of the shift from Elizabethan anti-Catholicism to Jacobean reconciliation during its period of composition; some have emphasized *Othello*'s use of material about the historical wars between Venice and the Turks found in Knolles's *Generall Historie* and its possible inspiration by James I's *Lepanto*, which was reissued in London in 1603.¹⁷² In the view of many scholars, then, *Othello*'s references to Turks and Moors are more than just an exotic backdrop for the domestic drama; instead, they are evidence for Shakespeare's questioning of any alliance with the Turks or an uncertainty about Catholics such as the "demi-devil" (5.2.299) Iago.

This view of *Othello* locates Shakespeare's play, based primarily on a story of jealousy and intrigue from Giraldi Cinthio's Italian collection *Gli Hecatommithi* (1565) uninterested in political and crusading conflicts, within the discourse of early modern religious warfare. Part of the impact of Shakespeare's changes to the narrative can be detected in the

character of Othello himself, who as a Christian (and presumably converted) Moor leading the armies of Catholic Venice against the Muslim Turks resonates with the medieval romance tradition of the converted crusading champion. Cherrell Guilfoyle has argued for just such a connection between Othello and Otuel, the converted Muslim hero of some English Charlemagne romances, because they share a similarity in name, situation, and military prowess.¹⁷³ Furthermore, Matthew Dimmock notes that Othello “fits neatly within the romance mould of [the] anti-Ottoman crusading warrior,” while Benedict Robinson contends more generally that “Othello ... speaks in an idiom borrowed from medieval romance,” and Virginia Mason Vaughan finds, “[Othello] crafts a role for himself as the Christian crusader fighting against the Turk.”¹⁷⁴ In this respect the play recalls the potential for conversion in Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine* but focuses primarily on Christians’ conflict with the Turks.

Othello’s reliance on the crusading romance’s motif of the converted Muslim warrior who becomes a champion of Christendom, as seen in the example of Ferumbras in *The Sowdone of Babylone* discussed in the previous chapter, makes the play’s alterations to crusading history more deliberate and significant. In the first scene Iago reveals that he has fought alongside Othello “At Rhodes, at Cyprus, and on other grounds / Christened and heathen” (1.1.28–9), and later the Venetian council spends time debating whether the Turkish fleet will attack Rhodes or Cyprus before it is confirmed that “The Turk with a most mighty preparation makes for Cyprus” (1.3.220–1). As has been frequently noted, this emphasis on the Turkish threat to Rhodes and Cyprus is strange, since Rhodes had been captured by the Turks in 1522 and Cyprus in 1570–1; for Shakespeare’s seventeenth-century audience, then, Christian control of these locations was a distant memory, and the play’s presentation of them as still Christian is either a piece of wishful fantasy or a possible foreboding of future disaster. At the same time, Othello’s name, as scholars have commented, resembles “Othman,” the founder of the Ottoman empire, and Iago’s Spanish name recalls the crusader patron “*St. Iago Matamoros*” [St. James the Moor-slayer] of Iberia, thus making Iago’s treacherous destruction of Othello a sinister inversion of the noble crusader defeating the deceitful Turk.¹⁷⁵

On the whole, Shakespeare’s use of names from other periods in crusading history and his changes to key historical details are similar to Heywood’s technique in *The Four Prentices*, which collapsed past events in order to promote early modern crusading; correspondingly, Shakespeare’s use of a converted champion as his protagonist recalls Marlowe’s critique of Christian inaction through *Tamburlaine*. The key difference, of

course, is that Marlowe's and Heywood's plays concentrate on military action against Muslim opponents, while in Shakespeare's play soon after Othello declares that he will "undertake / This present wars against the Ottomites" (1.3.232–3) he announces, "our wars are done, the Turks are drowned" (2.1.197). This abrupt transition from martial conflict to marital intrigue would appear to militate against a reading of *Othello* as seriously engaged with crusading thought. However, as I see it, Iago's scheming in the second half of the play indirectly reflects the view common in English historical writing that Christian discord, especially after Lepanto, was the cause for the failure to recover lands from the Turks. Jonathan Bate and Virginia Mason Vaughan have contended that *Othello* responds to Knolles's extended account of the Cyprus wars in *The Generall Historie*; whether or not Shakespeare read all of that account, in my view his play shares Knolles's belief that the period following the loss of Cyprus and the victory at Lepanto was a missed opportunity for Christians to put aside their squabbling and attack the Turks.¹⁷⁶ This idea is represented in *Othello* through the play's use of some features of the crusading romance and through its juxtaposition of the Turkish fleet's destruction with the breakdown of Christian unity via Iago's subversion of Othello. Shakespeare's audience, aware that Cyprus would indeed be lost to the Turks, and observing the detrimental effects of Iago's jealousy and revenge, could perceive that such division within Christian forces undermined a critical opportunity for a crusading recovery, and thus would be inclined to cooperate with, rather than harbor grudges against, the Catholic powers fighting the Ottomans.

Othello really only employs a few features from the crusading romance – a military campaign against infidels, an interest in conversion through conflict, and the narrative pattern of loss and recovery – though they help to explain the bifurcated nature of the narrative. The play describes but never shows the Venetian fleet sailing to confront the "general enemy Ottoman" (1.3.50), and its frequent remarks about "the Cyprus wars" (1.1.149) and references to "Th'importancy of Cyprus to the Turk" (1.3.21), despite a complete absence of references to the pope or the Catholic church, make holy warfare the basis for interpreting the conflict that follows. Moreover, Othello himself embodies the crusading romance's concern over conversion through conflict with the infidel. He first appears as the "noble and valiant general" (2.2.1–2), but the play's several references to "turning" or to "turning Turk" link the language of religious conversion to Othello's descent into the stereotype of the "Islamic tyrant," as Daniel Vitkus has demonstrated.¹⁷⁷ Additionally, there are hints of the crusading romance's

struggle for salvation buried in the play's brief allusions to penitence, purgatory, and pilgrimage: Othello tells Desdemona that she needs "fasting and prayer, / Much castigation, exercise devout" (3.4.38–9); Emilia says about Lodovico that "a lady in Venice would have walked / barefoot to Palestine for a touch of his nether lip" (4.3.34–5), describing a penitential pilgrimage, and later refers to Catholic "purgatory" (4.3.72); and Othello, about to execute his wife, tells her to "Think on thy sins" (5.2.40). Admittedly, none of these references to Christian or in some cases Catholic mechanisms for salvation are directly connected to crusading activity; such is also the case for Desdemona's incidental remark about her purse being full of "crusadoes" (3.4.24), or Portuguese coins stamped with the image of the cross. Instead, these references contribute to the play's overarching interest in explaining the disruption of the crusading narrative pattern of loss and recovery through the sinfulness of individual Christians. That is, *Othello* reworks the expected narrative structure first by showing the threatened loss of Rhodes and Cyprus being "recovered" by the storm that destroys the Turkish fleet and then by depicting another loss, specifically that of Othello himself, and with him the chance for Christian recovery of other lands, that demonstrates the failure of Christian collaboration. This larger pattern is supported by a series of smaller losses, such as Cassio's loss of status and reputation, which is recovered by his becoming commander of Cyprus, Othello's loss of trust in Desdemona, restored too late by Emilia's exposure of Iago's treachery, and the loss of Othello's "occupation" (3.3.359) as crusading general of the "big wars / That makes ambition virtue" (3.3.351–2), which is partially recovered in his dying speech's reminder about his killing of the Turk.

Nevertheless, the principal losses of the play – of a powerful leader like Othello, of the chance to strike against the Turks, and the implied future loss of Cyprus itself – are the ones most connected to early modern crusade discourse, as seen in Knolles's *Generall Historie*. Knolles, proceeding chronologically, discusses the Turks' capture of Cyprus in conjunction with the Christian victory at Lepanto; the two events were linked as paired historical examples of the failure of Christian unity to defend Cyprus and its potential triumph when supporting the greater good. Indeed, James I's poem *Lepanto*, a possible source of inspiration for Shakespeare, explicitly mentions that "The Turke had conquest Cyprus Ile" (145) as one of the motivating factors for the Venetians to join the crusading league. Knolles's text, by comparison, describes the "fatall ruine of CYPRVS ... the losse wherof not without cause grieved many Christian princes, as sometime a kingdome of it selfe, and now a prouince of the Turkish empire" as

resulting from “our sinnes, or the euill agreement of Christian princes, or both,” thus attributing the island’s capture to general sinfulness and to problems in leadership.¹⁷⁸ In *The Generall Historie*, this grievous loss is balanced by the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Lepanto, which prompts bonfires and celebrations similar to those in the play, where Othello commands through his herald that because of “the mere perdition [absolute destruction] of the Turkish fleet, every man put himself into triumph: some to dance, some to make bonfires” (2.2.3–5). Even so, the celebration of Lepanto in *The Generall Historie* is diminished somewhat when Knolles, claiming to report the words of a Turkish prisoner, compares the naval battle unfavorably to Turkish conquest of Cyprus:

In the midst of all this joy ... of the late victorie, one of the cheefe prisoners of the Turks, hearing it compared with the losse of CYPRVS ... by a fit comparison shewed it not to be so, saying, That the battell lost, was vnto [the sultan] as if a man should shaue his beard, which would ere long grow againe; but that the losse of CYPRVS was vnto the Venetians, as the losse of an arme, which once cut off, could neuer be againe recouered. Declaring therby the great inequalitie of the losse.¹⁷⁹

This analogy comparing the loss of a beard to that of an arm stresses the “great inequalitie” of the two conflicts in a way that maintains their connection while still highlighting the Christians’ inability to recover any of their lands. In *Othello* Shakespeare draws upon this association of Lepanto and Cyprus, of a victory at sea not truly balancing Turkish conquests, by having a “desperate tempest” (2.1.21) stop the Turks’ “most mighty preparation ... for Cyprus” (1.3.220–1), resulting in a “Turkish loss” (2.1.33) parallel to Lepanto that is nonetheless only a temporary reprieve from the coming “losse of an arme” with the capture of Cyprus.

In this respect the play expresses a similar view to Knolles’s reflections on crusading history after the victory of Lepanto failed to translate into significant Christian conquests because of dissent within the crusading league. This “tragic” conclusion to a time of hope extends the comparison of the unequal losses at Cyprus and Lepanto to the general state of Christendom:

A grieve of griefes it is ... when worthie actions most happily begun, sort not to such happie end as was in reason hoped for. The greatest and the most famous victorie of all ages gained against the Turke, seemed to haue lightened the Christian common-weale: and great hope there was, that the Christians falling into vnite among themselues, would by an happie exchange make the Turkish empire the seat of their warres ... But ... so much greater was the sorrow, so great an hope to be come to nought, and men to be so blinded with the darknesse of enuie and

disdaine, that ... they should shrinke from so just, so honourable, and so needfull a seruice, including in it selfe the generall good of all Christendome. When posteritie shall consider what things might then haue beene done, and the deuises whereby the common cause was ouerthrowne; it will worthily blame, and greatly lament so notable a victorie and fit opportunitie, sent as it were from heauen, for the effecting of great matters.¹⁸⁰

Here the “most famous victorie” at Lepanto, which, as in James’s poem, brought the “great hope” of “vnitie,” is tainted by the “darknesse of enuie and disdaine” and “deuises” that overthrow the “common cause.” Rather than creating a situation in which Christians might attack the “Turkish empire,” Christians have turned away from the “seruice” of the “generall good of all Christendome” to their mutual “griefe” and loss.

Knolles’s anticipation of the harsh judgment of posterity on this inability to seize the “fit opportunitie, sent as it were from heauen” parallels the action in *Othello*, where Iago’s envious disruption of the opportunity created by the destruction of the Turkish fleet is not just a personal but also a political calamity, severely weakening the Christians. This disintegration of crusading unity is evident from the play’s opening when, in one of his many offered reasons for hating Othello, Iago first complains that his “suit” to become the military “lieutenant” (1.1.8) was rejected by Othello, who, “loving his own pride and purposes” (1.1.11), chose the foreigner Cassio, a “Florentine” (1.1.19), leaving Iago as the lower-ranking “ensign” (1.1.32). Iago’s extended complaints in this section about his desire for “[p]referment” in military “service” (1.1.34–5), his claim that “In following [Othello], I follow but myself ... for my peculiar [private] end” (1.1.58–60), and his desire to “get [Cassio’s] place” (1.3.382) explain the ending tragedy and perilous state of Venice through discord among Christians seeking their own ends; they parallel Knolles’s explanation that the crusading league abandoned the “needfull ... seruice” of the “generall good of all Christendome” because of “enuie.” Indeed, Iago himself acknowledges Othello’s necessary role in Venice’s defense, since “Another of his fathom [ability] they have none” (1.1.151), yet still proceeds to drive a wedge between him and Cassio in order to destroy the general. Moreover, when Iago incites Cassio’s drunken disturbance on Cyprus, he does so in terms that suggest rebellion and internal strife, saying that he has “flustered” (2.3.54) the watch and Cassio to “offend the isle” (2.3.57), and telling Roderigo to cry “mutiny” (2.3.147) so that “Friends” (2.3.170) become embroiled in “opposition bloody” (2.3.175). Othello confirms this dissolution of crusading unity when he responds to the disturbance using the language of religious conversion, saying “Are we turned Turks,

and to ourselves do that / Which Heaven hath forbid the Ottomites? / For Christian shame, put by this barbarous brawl!" (2.3.161–3). Though "Heaven" has destroyed the "Ottomites," the Christians shame themselves through fighting in a "barbarous brawl," in effect becoming their own enemy, rather than considering, in Knolles's words, the "generall good of all Christendome." Although Othello himself subsequently is blinded by Iago's scheme and sinfully "turns" against other Christians in a plot that Cassio tellingly calls "Most heathenish and most gross" (5.2.312), he nonetheless reminds the Venetians – and the play's English audience – in his final speech that their true opponent is the "turbaned Turk" (5.2.352) and "circumcisèd dog" (5.2.354) who "[b]eat a Venetian and traduced the state" (5.2.353). This final speech before his suicide encapsulates several ambiguities in the play, but when read in terms of the play's crusading narrative, Othello here partially redeems himself as a crusading leader by offering a glimpse of a past, lost unity where Christians defend one another against the Turks.

Shakespeare, writing with the same benefit of hindsight as Knolles about the victory at Lepanto, presents the squabbling that followed in terms familiar from crusade discourse. According to Knolles, Lepanto "seemed to haue lightened the Christian common-weale," and in *Othello* the scattering of the Turkish fleet produces comparable celebrations, but only results in the "heavy act" of Othello's death due to Christian discord that must be related by Lodovico with "heavy heart" (5.2.371) to Venice. *Othello*'s unusual combination of the domestic and the martial, along with the change in scope and focus in the second half of the play, seems at first glance to have little to do with the original Turkish threat. However, as several recent studies of its depiction of Islam and the Turks have shown, the play's changes to Mediterranean history are a deliberate response to the complex politics of early Jacobean England. Hence, though Shakespeare's play concludes on a far more dismal note than the triumphant conquest of *The Four Prentices*, it primarily functions not as a condemnation of alliances with Catholics but as a warning that persistent internal strife will result in the loss of another "arme" of Christendom to the Ottomans.

This discussion of the effects of the crusading romance's narrative pattern and features on early modern English drama is not exhaustive, but the examples of *Tamburlaine*, *The Four Prentices*, and *Othello* indicate how authors as different as Marlowe, Heywood, and Shakespeare used instances of holy warfare from periods ranging from the eleventh to the late sixteenth centuries in order to address broad concerns about Christendom and to continue English literary engagement with crusading thought.

Recognizable to an audience familiar with the crusading romance because of their borrowed features, these dramatic narratives, as in the texts by some English historical writers, nonetheless adapted crusading history to suit their purposes in ways unanticipated in the medieval tradition by telescoping different periods or reversing the order of events. More than the Protestant allegorical poems of James I and Spenser, which disparaged Catholic corruption while still extolling the defeat of the Islamic "common enemy," English dramatists favored Christian unity against the Turks and focused on the problems preventing large-scale military action, exploring crusading associations, conversion, penance, and general reform. Though these plays avoid all mention of difficult topics such as the crusading indulgence and the pope, and though they largely ignore individual crusading, they essentially extend the genre of the crusading romance by translating it into another popular medium. While it is unlikely that an audience viewing these plays would set off on a crusade, their importance as indicators of popular opinion corrects our assumptions of general English hostility to crusading caused by Elizabethan governmental policy and allows us to see how many authors devoted themselves to finding ways to reform rather than to reject crusading; this interest in reforming crusading is itself a key continuity with the medieval period.¹⁸¹

CRUSADING IS HISTORY: ENGLISH HISTORICAL APPROACHES IN KNOLLES AND FULLER

The various approaches found in English crusading literature extended to historical writing about crusading and the Turks, and thus had a considerable effect on how the early modern period conceived of the origins and significance of holy warfare. Beyond the English translations of continental histories or reports throughout this period, Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turks* (1603) and Thomas Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639), mentioned previously in this chapter, provide a useful contrast in their presentation of crusading history even as both texts approve the struggle of Christendom against the Turks. On the one hand Knolles, whose enormous history went through subsequent editions and expansions in 1610, 1621, 1631, and 1638 – the last a year before the publication of Fuller's work – presents the history of the crusades to the Holy Land as related to and continuous with the rise of the Ottoman Turks. In the transition from the first section, "The General Historie of the Tvrkcs, before the Rising of the *Othoman* Familie, with all the Notable Expeditions of the Christian Princes against them," to the second, "The Lives of the

Othoman Kings and Emperors,” the attacks of the Turks on the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem and the historical role of Othoman himself function as a bridge between the medieval “Expeditions of the Christian Princes” and the contemporary “most dangerous and professed enemy of the Christian commonweale,” the Turkish empire; this fundamental continuity in Knolles’s text is indicated in a phrase found on the title-page and repeated at the beginning of the second section, which states that the two parts are “digested into one continual Historie.”¹⁸² Knolles, whose favorable view on crusading is evident in his dedicatory epistle’s admiration of *Lepanto* as a poem celebrating Christian unity as well as in his concluding hope that God will either “in mercie ... turne the hearts of this mightie and froward people [i.e., the Turks] vnto the knowledge of his Sonne crucified ... or otherwise in his justice ... root out their most bloud-thirstie and wicked empire, with all the rest of the blasphemous Mahometanes,” produces a historical version of the kind of crusading thought found in works by Marlowe, Heywood, and to a lesser extent Spenser; that is, Knolles circumvents the problem of the confessional divide by expounding a “continual” history of the “Christian commonweale” that offers only conversion or destruction to “blasphemous Mahometanes,” who comprise both the medieval Saracens and the early modern Turks.¹⁸³

On the other hand, Fuller’s work, which would also go through multiple editions in 1640, 1647, and 1651, presents a different account of crusading history to its English audience by separating the medieval crusade expeditions from the battles against Ottoman Turks. Although the Anglican clergyman relies on Knolles’s text as a source for his history at several points, including his ending indictment of the Turkish empire, Fuller’s greater hostility toward Catholics and suspicion of the papacy’s purposes in promoting crusading causes him to relegate it to the “wholly superstitious” behavior of the past.¹⁸⁴ Thus, in Fuller’s text crusading, which in his view consists only of campaigns to the Holy Land, has a definite starting point with Peter the Hermit and Urban II in the eleventh century, and a clear ending point, namely the destruction of Acre in 1291.¹⁸⁵ After surveying the major campaigns during this period, Fuller concludes by reaffirming this link between crusading and the Holy Land:

Thus after an hundred ninety and foure yeares ended the Holy warre; for continuance the longest, for money spent the costliest, for bloudshed the cruellest, for pretenses the most pious, for the true intent the most politick the world ever saw. And at this day, the Turks to spare the Christians their pains of coming so long a journey to Palestine, have done them the unwelcome courtesie, to come more then half the way to give them a meeting.¹⁸⁶

These two sentences neatly express Fuller's distinction, for in the first sentence "the Holy warre," which was cruel, long, and costly, has "ended," while in the second the Turks have invaded Christian lands in a new conflict that is "unwelcome." Indeed, Fuller's unfavorable judgment of crusading does not preclude pride in English participation or antipathy for the Turks. Acknowledging the English to be one of the "By-founders" of crusading, Fuller remarks how they sent one king, three kings' sons, large hosts, and "privily many a Pilgrime of good qualitie," so that "there was scarce any remarkable battel or memorable siege done ... wherein there were not some English of eminent desert."¹⁸⁷ Similarly, Fuller denigrates the Turks as an "unregarded people" who only became "the terrour of the world for the punishment of Christians," and "we may justly hope, that when the correction is done the rod shall be burnt," while he calls their empire a "cruel tyrannie" and "a nation without ... moralitie, arts and sciences."¹⁸⁸ In Fuller's explanation of history, English Protestants can recall their crusading past with a mixture of pride and regret over having been duped by the "Romish church" as they simultaneously are able to hope for the destruction of the Turks, the "generall and common foe of our Religion."¹⁸⁹ Although Fuller's *Historie* appears to express a definitive break in crusading from medieval to early modern England, his restriction of crusading to Holy Land expeditions allows for accommodation with Catholic powers in the contemporary defense of Christendom against the Turks. In other words, Fuller's inclusion of a final chapter about the greatness of the Ottoman empire and "What hopes of the approaching ruine therof," drawn directly from Knolles's work, where Fuller asserts that "we may expect the ruine of this great Empire will come," leaves open the possibility of Christian military cooperation without papal involvement – a revision or, perhaps, "reformation" of crusading that resembles the changes made by other Protestant authors such as James I and Spenser.¹⁹⁰

In this sense, while Knolles and Fuller offer markedly different perspectives on early modern England's relationship to the medieval crusading past, both use crusading history and discourse, particularly the pattern of loss and recovery, to promote English identification with military concerns beyond the strictly national. Fuller may confidently declare that the pope will never call another "superstitious" holy war to Jerusalem, but his mocking dismissal of that goal is only a redirection of crusading against what he sees as the Turks' invasion of Christendom.¹⁹¹ Hence, three years before the beginning of the English Civil War, Fuller inadvertently demonstrates crusading's formative influence on modernity, one that survived despite the disappearance of the ecclesiastical institution, because it drew

upon a medieval tradition already engaged with reform and offering a flexible dynamic combining religious conquest and personal salvation.

Overall this chapter has argued that despite major alterations in the transition from medieval to early modern England, including changes in religion, book technology, intellectual movements, exploration, and the power of the Ottoman Turks, crusading remained a powerful force, influencing how early modern people understood and constructed their relationship to other Christian realms, to Islamic states, and to their own history and literary tradition. Instead of being an obsolete and homogeneous medieval practice that was supplanted by a more variegated interest in the alterity of the Turks, crusading continued to shape major developments in the early modern period in some measure through the persistence of actual crusading practices, but mainly through the appeal of the crusading romance and the influence of its narrative structure on other kinds of English writing. Tyerman explains that in the early modern period "Crusading retained its place as an appropriate vehicle for Roman Catholics to use in fighting holy war. Yet religious division rendered its theology anathema to significant sections of Christian society who sought and found other ways and means to articulate and pursue violence in the name of their God."¹⁹² The crusading romance offered Protestant English audiences a way to view themselves as part of a Christendom facing challenges similar to those found in the medieval past; moreover, as the history of English printing shows, the crusading romance (and the medieval romance in general) affected the popular imagination for far longer than has previously been assumed.

The crusading romance's decline in the 1570s, however, does not indicate the end of interest but its reconfiguration into other media, especially allegory, drama, and historical writing. Texts as different as James I's *Lepanto*, Book I of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Heywood's *The Four Prentices*, Shakespeare's *Othello*, Knolles's *Generall Historie*, and Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre* demonstrate that authors in Protestant England "found other ways" to envision crusading. Their methodology primarily consisted of eliminating the offensive and divisive aspects of Catholic doctrine – the pope and indulgences – while continuing to invoke the narrative pattern of loss and recovery that made crusading so potent. When Spenser, for example, presents a version of the medieval crusading patron St. George battling Saracens on a quest to recover a Christian kingdom in the East in the first book of his Protestant epic, or when Marlowe modifies a medieval Islamic conqueror into a haughty Christian ally who humiliates the Turks and rejects

Islam, the texts present medieval crusading thought in a strikingly new way that nevertheless would have seemed quite familiar to their audiences. In a similar fashion *Lepanto*, regardless of its author's stated intentions, is strongly indebted in its subject matter and structure to the medieval crusading tradition, such as that found in the anonymous romance *Capystranus*, with the result that James's poem was commonly received as an endorsement of Christian unity, and indeed anticipates the monarch's later anti-Turkish policy. By comparison, Heywood's *The Four Prentices* and Shakespeare's *Othello* make pointed revisions to significant details in crusading history in order to highlight contemporary problems. While Heywood's understudied play reminds us of the popularity of material about the First Crusade in the late sixteenth century and glorifies English participation in crusading, both real and imagined, the complex blending of Mediterranean history, domestic drama, and anxiety about conversion in Shakespeare's work makes a subtler case regarding the dangers of Christian discord shortly after the crowning of a new English ruler. Lastly, Knolles and Fuller, despite their seemingly opposite views of crusading, did not simply relate events in crusading history but assessed the problems confronting Christendom and the strengths of the Turkish empire through the lens of crusade discourse's narrative pattern and hope for reform. Crusading thought and literature did not dominate every aspect of early modern culture, but a better understanding of the various ways in which the medieval tradition was expressed shows how crusade discourse was not marginal in early modern England, as well as how it provides a different means of assessing English claims about religious difference and political rule across various discursive formulations.

Conclusion

This book has explored the extensive and persistent influence of crusading narrative patterns and political thought on England and the English imagination from the later Middle Ages to the early modern period. It is intended to complement and broaden the recent work of crusade historians, who have explored crusading's variety and adaptability, which precipitated changes in art, preaching, ritual, social orders, finance, and trade, and its longevity, stretching as it did from the second half of the eleventh century to the last crusading league against the Ottoman Turks in 1684–99.¹ This study has also attempted to indicate several problems with our current understanding of English crusading activity and crusading literature: the limitations of a strict periodization of medieval and early modern England, which obscures the presence of crusading's religious intolerance at the beginnings of the modern world; an overemphasis on constructions of national identity at the expense of the associational political forms that crusading engendered; a lack of attention to the formal aspects of crusading literature; and an awareness that crusading literature represented military campaigns as well as individual crusading while commenting upon or criticizing contemporary behavior. This book has argued throughout that, although the number of participants in ecclesiastical crusade campaigns was small compared to the overall population of Europe, crusading comprised more than the papal institution; instead, it touched nearly all of the population in some regard via a variable set of behaviors, religious discourse, and a transposable story.

Crusading's impact on English thought can be detected in the development of the medieval crusading romance and its later reconfigurations in poetry, drama, and historical writing in the early modern period. A redefinition of the crusading romance based on characteristic components of crusade discourse goes beyond identifying the presence of crusade rhetoric – typically anti-Muslim invective or the creation of a religious “Other” – in an array of texts. Instead, it uncovers a coherent subgenre

engaged with topical concerns and changes in crusading thought that continued to influence English culture up to the late sixteenth century. In this respect, what had previously appeared as texts isolated from historical developments and largely unworthy of literary study, such as *Richard Cœur de Lion*'s lengthy narrative of divinely sanctioned military conquest in the Holy Land and *Sir Isumbras*'s brief narrative of personal redemption and divinely aided conquest in the Holy Land, become comprehensible as expressions of distinct but intertwined strands of crusade discourse that reacted to the historical loss of the Holy Land in 1291. Though these anonymous romances and later texts such as *Octavian* and *The Sowdone of Babylone* may not meet lofty aesthetic criteria, their popular nature is in fact a strong indication of the prevalence of the crusading romance and its influence on English culture across various social levels. In other words, these romances could rely on audiences to recognize a set of common features and a narrative pattern of loss and recovery; they could then manipulate such expected features in order to make, for example, *The Sowdone of Babylone*'s depiction of Christendom's expansion through marital claims a commentary on English interest in Iberia abstractly related to John of Gaunt's marriage alliances, the Anglo-French conflict, and the *reconquista*. Instead of merely reflecting historical events, these romances offered solutions to perceived issues – however unrealistically – and they contributed to crusading by urging participation, reform, or at least sustained consideration among their audiences. Thus, rather than categorizing such narratives according to the misleading “Matters” of Rome, France, and Britain, or by the less precise terms of “homiletic romance” or “secular hagiography” or their more recent variations, we can employ the label “crusading romance” to identify a discrete genre of texts that, as with crusade discourse's modification of prior holy war ideology, adapts existing source material for a new purpose.² It is important to realize the wider role crusading played in Middle English literature not simply to portray the surviving corpus more accurately, but also to acknowledge that crusading texts, like other medieval devotional works, are more diverse and at times more subversive than they appear.

Moreover, describing these texts as crusading romances helps to highlight the lasting influence of crusading narratives on early modern literature and culture. In the early modern period, when the Reformation and other cultural changes eliminated the ecclesiastical institution in England, the narrative power of crusading remained a potent force in literary and historical production, which drew upon and was shaped by the medieval tradition to a greater degree than previously has been accepted. Crusading

romances were still produced and printed in early modern England, as seen in the anonymous *Capysstranus*, William Caxton's *Godeffroy of Boloyne*, and Lord Berners's *Huon of Bordeaux*, and their production is largely due to the continued positive regard for the concept of united Christian warfare against religious enemies across confessional divisions. While certain sections of English society and even Elizabeth I's government may have actively opposed this concept, most of the populace and most literary authors celebrated crusading victories and their own crusading past. Though articulating Protestant discomfort with aspects of Catholic theology, poetry such as James I's poem *Lepanto* and Book I of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* to a certain extent repeat the respective strands of holy warfare and private crusading found in *Richard Cœur de Lion* and *Sir Isumbras*, both of which were reprinted multiple times in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, English drama demonstrates a recurring engagement with crusading material and topics throughout the sixteenth century. In particular, plays such as Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*, Thomas Heywood's *The Four Prentices of London, with the Conquest of Jerusalem*, and William Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice* all reinvent crusading history in order to examine the subject of conversion or the failure of Christian cooperation against the Turks. Even original English historical writing, as found in Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* and Thomas Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre*, maintains the trend of ignoring or rejecting papal involvement while promoting the concept of a united Christendom recovering its lands from the forces of Islam.

In its medieval beginnings crusading involved a radical "sacralizing of war" that assimilated aspects of penitential pilgrimage but was nonetheless couched in terms of revival and reform; it soon encompassed political claims to rule the Holy Land and, indeed, any place deemed to have belonged formerly to the Roman empire or to Christendom, drawing on theories of just war and of Christian militancy.³ Additionally, crusading offered people living in England and elsewhere a more flexible set of parameters for shaping a collective identity than incipient nationalism, one that could value interregional cooperation and temporary bonds under categories such as "Franks" or "*crucesignati*" while still enabling competition among rivals. By the later Middle Ages the Holy Land had been won and lost again, but these events were only part of a larger series of conflicts that drew English interest to places as diverse as Africa, Iberia, Italy, Flanders, the Baltic, and the eastern Mediterranean. During this time preachers, propagandists, and treatise authors blamed Christian

sinfulness and used crusading for several purposes, from raising donations to reforming an individual's behavior to speculating on exemplary society, government, and the legitimacy of claims over non-Christian peoples. In general, notwithstanding their distressing prejudice, medieval crusading practices and literature represent an ambitious, uneven, and idealized attempt to explicate and reconcile several competing or contradictory forces within European culture.

It is perhaps fitting, then, to conclude this study by returning briefly to the influence of crusading's religious warfare on one of early modern England's intellectual authors as a final demonstration that crusading was a part of humanist thought and the early modern world.⁴ In Fuller's 1639 *Historie of the Holy Warre*, after he describes preparations for the First Crusade, he pauses to consider the war's legitimacy as a controversial contemporary topic, listing several reasons on each side.⁵ In a later chapter Fuller then comments on its legitimacy by referring to another work by Francis Bacon (1561–1626), the English humanist, political figure, and philosopher, best known today for his championing of the empirical scientific method in his *Novum organum* and his utopian fiction in the *New Atlantis*.⁶ However, Fuller's reference to Bacon concerns none of these more familiar and seemingly modern aspects of his life; instead, he laments Bacon's incomplete work about crusading:

Before I go further, I must deplore the worlds losse of that worthy work which the Lord Verulam [i.e., Francis Bacon] left unfinished, concerning the Holy warre; an excellent piece, and alas! it is but a piece ... It was begun not in an historicall but in a politick way, not reporting the Holy warre past with the Turks but advising how to manage it in the future. And no doubt if he had perfected the work, it would have proved worthy the Authour.⁷

The work to which Fuller alludes so favorably here is Bacon's *An Advertisement Touching an Holy Warre*, a dialogue debating the possibility of a crusade against the Turks and the lawfulness of holy warfare written in 1622–3 after his loss of public office but only printed posthumously in 1629.⁸ Although written in the form of a philosophical dialogue, the *Advertisement* contains some literary aspects in its characterization of the speakers and setting, and also intervenes in contemporary political affairs, specifically James I's negotiations with Spain for a marriage alliance. In this respect the *Advertisement* can be understood as an early modern version of the medieval recovery treatises, as it attempts to deal with the problems dividing Christendom and preventing a crusade by exploring crusading's fundamental justification and by identifying the conditions

necessary for its success. Though Bacon advances arguments and raises concerns unimaginable to his medieval predecessors, his dialogue nonetheless represents a thorough engagement with crusading's role in early modern England that not only earned Fuller's admiration but also would be used by Fuller as an authoritative statement on the criteria for a legitimate holy war.

Bacon's *Advertisement*, though "politick," as Fuller puts it, in its discussion of a future crusade, contains several "historically" references to wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including the crusading battles of Lepanto and Alcazar, conflicts among Christians over Portugal, Milan, and Bohemia, and the conquest of Peru and Mexico, thus situating crusading within a range of military endeavors in the early modern period including warfare among European rulers and forcible colonization in the New World. In his prefatory letter Bacon explains that it is "an argument mixt of religious and civil considerations; and likewise mixt between contemplative and active," indicating the dialogue's intended dual purpose of establishing the general legitimacy of holy war and the particular possibility of its enactment in the early seventeenth century.⁹

A summary of the *Advertisement* reveals how even in its incomplete state the text balances the various views of different social and religious groups in early modern Europe about crusading. The dialogue itself features six characters: Martius, a soldier; Eupolis, a moderate supporter of monarchy; Eusebius, a moderate theologian; Gamaliel, a zealous Protestant; Zebedaeus, a fervid Catholic; and Pollio, a courtier. Of these six characters, all are Catholic except for Gamaliel, whose extreme view, as with that of Zebedaeus, makes it likely that Bacon's conclusion on holy war would have been expressed by one of the other Catholic characters – perhaps as a sign of moderate Christian cooperation. The six figures meet at Eupolis's house in Paris sometime in the early 1620s, and after some banter Martius begins by censuring the "meanness" of "Christendom," which for the past fifty years mainly has been occupied in wars against other Christians, as shown in the "ships and forces of [the] Spanish, English, and Dutch" who sail "unto the ends of the world" for gold, not for the "cause of Christ."¹⁰ After Martius declares, "a war upon the Turk is more worthy than upon any other gentiles, infidels, or savages ... both in point of religion and in point of honour," he asks the assembled experts to explain the legitimacy of holy war before he continues.¹¹ Eupolis then assigns various parts for the ensuing discussion to the other characters, which will proceed from Zebedaeus's discussion of holy war's general legitimacy, Gamaliel's examination of its obligatory status, Eusebius's discussion of its priority, Pollio's

attempt at rebuttal, Eupolis's proving of the possibility of a current war, and Martius's concluding with its specific planning; they all resolve to meet the next day to continue the debate. When they do Martius proposes a modification of the speaking order so that he may present a "model of the enterprise" before Pollio and Eupolis debate its current possibility, which is accepted.¹² The zealous Catholic Zebedaeus then offers a lengthy speech that attempts to prove that war against "the most potent and most dangerous enemy of the faith, the Turk" is a "just war," even when one discounts "the cause of religion."¹³ Comparing the Turkish empire to various illegitimate governments, including pirates, the Islamic sect of the Assassins, the radical Anabaptists of Munster, and the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt, all of which, he claims, were worthy of destruction by the "natural and tacit confederation amongst all men against the common enemy of human society," Zebedaeus's speech breaks off before its conclusion, leaving the intended end of the *Advertisement* unknown.¹⁴

Even with Martius's modification of the presentation order, the stated design for the dialogue, which moves from general legitimacy to particular instance, parallels the broad outline of several medieval recovery treatises, which frequently justify Christian claims to the Holy Land, vilify Islam and its rulers, and then offer reasons for and against specific courses of action. However, without a sense of the lasting influence of the medieval crusading tradition on early modern England, scholars have frequently overlooked Bacon's *Advertisement* or presumed that it must be discussing something other than holy war. In what little has been written on Bacon's dialogue, some scholars have regarded it as a kind of allegory that continues the utopian and scientific vision of Bacon's other writing. For instance, Jerry Weinberger, Laurence Lampert, and Ralph Lerner have offered highly intricate interpretations of Bacon's text, placing extraordinary weight on Pollio's role and on his comment, "except you could bray [grind] Christendom in a mortar, and mould it into a new paste, there is no possibility of an Holy War."¹⁵ All three critics generally see Pollio's comment as rejecting religious violence entirely in favor of a struggle for scientific and social progress. That is, in Weinberger's view, the *Advertisement* "treats problems of civil and ecclesiastical policy ... as ... the means to scientific conquest," while for Lampert it constitutes a metaphoric war on religion to improve humanity, and for Lerner the dialogue is an attempt to redirect religious fanatics in the service of a utopian world ruled by the wise.¹⁶ Pollio's statement about Christendom requiring the magical reconstitution of an alchemical grinding before it could launch a new crusade is certainly significant as an indication of the lasting power of the concept of

reform in crusade discourse, but in the context of Bacon's situation in the 1620s – a debt-ridden, disgraced royal advisor seeking to regain the king's favor by supporting his political plans – it seems unlikely that his dialogue sought to establish a scientific revolution.¹⁷

Other critics have rightly considered the text to be in favor of a more moderate form of holy war than is found in Zebedaeus's speech. For example, the text's nineteenth-century editors view the dialogue as consistent with Bacon's other statements about crusading as a means of uniting England and Spain in joint action against the Turks, a stance that reflects James I's policy; they conclude that the dialogue probably would have approved war against the Turks in self-defense, and that its incomplete state was only due to the breakdown of negotiations with Spain after 1623, making its argument moot.¹⁸ J. Max Patrick sees Bacon's dialogue as inspired by James I's *Lepanto* for its endorsing of "an ecumenically Christian rather than a Roman Catholic holy war against the infidels," and as Bacon's attempt to cure internal dissent in England through war.¹⁹ In a related vein, Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, though not discussing the *Advertisement* directly, identify several instances throughout Bacon's life when he favored religious moderation over Christian division and when he portrayed the Turks negatively, thus supporting the views of Patrick and the earlier editors indirectly.²⁰ Glenn Burgess, comparing Fuller's and Bacon's views on religious war, also generally agrees with this earlier assessment, as he argues, "there was much unease about the place of religion in [the just war] tradition," so that "[r]eligious reasons for war were seldom advanced, at least by the learned, in any pure form, and tended always to be blended with legal arguments."²¹ These interpretations of Bacon's text, especially Burgess's comparison of Bacon with Fuller, accord with this study's argument that many early modern English authors supported crusading or holy warfare by seeking to circumvent issues of religious division or papal authority.

Nearly all these critics agree, however, about the unlikelihood of Bacon's endorsing Zebedaeus's view, which, as that character's description indicates, overzealously asserts the right to wage offensive war against any people based solely on an unnatural government. Nonetheless, Zebedaeus's extreme argument does not mean that the *Advertisement* rejects holy war and crusading entirely. As I see it, Bacon probably shared Martius's assessment of the Turkish empire as "[a] cruel tyranny, bathed in the blood of their emperors upon every succession; a heap of vassals and slaves; no nobles, no gentlemen, no freeman ... a nation without morality, without letters, arts, or sciences"; indeed, this was one of the passages borrowed

by Fuller for his *Historie's* closing hope for the destruction of the Ottomans.²² Fuller's regard for and use of the *Advertisement* provide some guidance from a contemporary author for its intended purpose, since despite Fuller's condemnation of the abuses of the Catholic church, he endorses Christian warfare against the Turks. Furthermore, Fuller directly borrows Zebedaeus's criteria about determining the justice of a war to reach his own ambivalent conclusion about the crusades to the Holy Land, stating, "From that Authour [i.e., Bacon] we may borrow this distinction, That three things are necessarie to make an invasive warre lawfull; the lawfulnessse of the jurisdiction, the merit of the cause, and the orderly and lawfull prosecution of the cause."²³ Fuller's *Historie* implies that the medieval holy war was unlawful because the participants acted immorally and because papal claims were dubious, but this judgment does not extend to the general concept of the holy war. Bacon's work, exhibiting similar discomfort with religious justifications based on Catholic doctrine, nevertheless seems to determine that the defensive action of a united Christendom against the Turks is better than European war over confessional differences or the extermination of natives in the New World for profit.

In this respect, Bacon's dialogue presents a glimpse of the elder statesman and humanist's wrestling with the problem of locating crusading in a world far different from that of the eleventh century, one with cannon, printed books, religious divisions between Catholic and Protestant, a better disciplined Islamic enemy, and of course new continents and peoples. However, many of the *Advertisement's* concerns are similar to those facing early crusaders; crusading alliances were still necessary, although increasingly unlikely, and the questions about the purpose and plans for holy warfare were major components of crusade discourse from the eleventh to the early seventeenth centuries. Hence, when Zebedaeus declares, "It is a great error ... if any man think that nations have nothing to do one with another ... There are other bands of society, and implicit confederations," and asserts that there are problems with which "all nations are interested [have an interest in]," it is easy to detect an echo of medieval crusading's associational forms appealing to such "implicit confederations" in the service of the common good.²⁴ All in all, the *Advertisement's* unfinished state is an appropriate emblem for crusading's role in early modern England, since it shows how crusading was a narrative and ideal still occupying literary and intellectual production and still able to generate questions about the legitimacy of religious violence, forcible conversion, the charitable liberation of other Christians, or the recovery of the "ancient patrimony of Christ."²⁵

In terms of direct participation the medieval experiment of crusading ended in the seventeenth century; its termination was not due to the denunciations of enlightened thinkers or a sudden religious tolerance, but because its systems channeling holy violence and devotion were supplanted by the activities of the secular, sovereign state.²⁶ In the centuries leading up to that point, however, crusading remained an incomplete narrative of loss and recovery, of legal rights and religious violence, that expressed the sincere hopes and dreadful ambitions of a wide range of people attempting to reconcile their religious doctrine with a divergent reality where Christendom was neither dominant nor regularly divinely favored. Because it occupied such an important role, bypassing any neat separation between medieval and early modern England, crusading demands a historical and literary analysis that can account for its notable combination of elevated images of human beings united in a transcendent cause with the desire to effect, as Bacon says, the “extirpation” of other peoples.²⁷

Notes

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603), sig. A4r.
- 2 On the origins and use of the inaccurate term “Saracen,” which referred to all of the Islamic world as devilish idolaters, see Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (London: Longman, 1975), p. 53, and John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 10–11 and pp. 127–34. Though originally a Greek or Roman word of uncertain origin for the inhabitants of Syria, for some medieval authors “Saracen” encoded a claim to descent from Sarah, Abraham’s wife, but later came to mean “pagan” and, more specifically, Muslim. Tolan also acknowledges that in the early modern period “popes and publicists urged princes to crusade against the ‘Turk’ in much the same language as their thirteenth-century counterparts,” pp. xviii–xix.
- 3 Knolles, *Generall Historie*, sig. A4v.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 13, p. 88, p. 267, p. 389, p. 618, and *passim*.
- 6 Robert the Monk’s *History of the First Crusade*: “*Historia Iherosolimitana*,” trans. Carol Sweetenham (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 79–82. Though this text is only one of several versions of Urban’s speech and is composed significantly later, c. 1107, I use it here because judging by surviving manuscripts it was the most popular account in the Middle Ages.
- 7 I also call this pattern one of loss and recovery rather than the pattern of “exile and return” commonly applied to medieval romances because the recovery in crusading narratives is seldom at the point of origin. For applications of exile and return see W. R. J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (New York: Longman, 1987), p. 65; Diane Speed, “The Construction of the Nation in Medieval English Romance,” in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 135–59, esp. p. 146; Rosalind Field, “The King over the Water: Exile-and-Return Revisited,” in *Cultural Encounters in the Romance of Medieval England*, ed. Corinne J. Saunders (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 41–53; and Laura Ashe, “‘Exile-and-return’ and English Law: The Anglo-Saxon Inheritance of Insular Romance,” *Literature Compass* 3 (2006): 300–17.

- 8 See “croiserie, n.,” in *Middle English Dictionary* (University of Michigan, 18 December 2001), <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>, accessed 15 August 2012. James A. Brundage, “Cruce Signari’: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England,” *Traditio* 22 (1966): 289–310; Kenneth Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century,” *Traditio* 30 (1974): 429–35; Michael Markowski, “*Crucesignatus*: Its Origins and Early Usage,” *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984): 157–65.
- 9 See “crusade, n.,” in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford University Press, June 2012), <http://oxforddictionaries.com/>, accessed 15 August 2012. See also Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 49–55, who notes that crusades were often called by the Latin terms “*bellum dei*” [war of god], “*negotium dei*” [business of god], “*passagium*” [passage], and “*iter*” [journey].
- 10 A classic example is Steven Runciman’s *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1951–4). For accounts of these earlier views, see Giles Constable, “The Historiography of the Crusades,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), pp. 1–22, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, “The Crusading Movement and Historians,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 1–12. For a discussion of the continued Christian interest in recovering the Holy Land and of the brief capture of the island of Ruad off the Syrian coast in 1300–2, see Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 162–80.
- 11 See, for example, Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford University Press, 1992); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 3rd edn. (New York: Ignatius Press, 2002); Helen Nicholson, *The Crusades* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004); Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006); and Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006). On the treatment of literary evidence see Michael Routledge, “Songs,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Riley-Smith, pp. 91–111. Cathrynke Dijkstra and Martin Gosman discuss this problem helpfully in their article on crusade lyrics, “Poetic Fiction and Poetic Reality: The Case of the Romance Crusade Lyrics,” *Neophilologus* 79 (1995): 13–24, particularly at pp. 20–2.
- 12 An exception is Phillippa Hardman and Marianne Ailes, “Crusading, Chivalry and the Saracen World in Insular Romance,” in *Christianity and Romance in Medieval England*, ed. Rosalind Field, Phillippa Hardman, and Michelle Sweeney (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 45–65, who note how some English romances featuring a solitary hero “depend on an established cultural

acceptance of inevitable conflict between Christians and Saracens as long as the Holy Land remains in Saracen hands,” and “may be thought to represent a personal vision of the public dream of a purified, united Christendom once more in possession of the Holy Land,” at p. 56.

- 13 For recent work in studies of medieval literature, see Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Siobhain Bly Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Suzanne Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009). All of these examples approach crusading differently, whether through racial studies, manuscript studies, devotional pilgrimage, or Orientalism, but all point to the significance of crusading for English writing. For a summary of recent work on early modern literature, see Robert J. Topinka, “Islam, England, and Identity in the Early Modern Period: A Review of Recent Scholarship,” *Mediterranean Studies* 18 (2009): 114–30, as well as Emily Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London’s Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005); Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), and Emily Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From “Alcazar” to “Othello”* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).
- 14 A useful account of the limits of applying medieval nationalism to English romances can be found in Thomas H. Crofts and Robert Allen Rouse, “Middle English Popular Romance and National Identity,” in *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009), pp. 79–95.
- 15 Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p. 11.
- 16 Nicola McDonald, “A Polemical Introduction,” in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. Nicola McDonald (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 1–17, at p. 17.
- 17 See Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); and Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 6–7 and pp. 129–68.
- 18 Andrew King, *“The Faerie Queene” and Middle English Romance: The Matter of Just Memory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), and Benedict S. Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature: The Politics of Romance from Spenser to Milton* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

- 19 On *Sir Isumbras* see Lee Manion, "The Loss of the Holy Land and *Sir Isumbras*: Literary Contributions to Fourteenth-Century Crusade Discourse," *Speculum* 85(1) (2010): 65–90.
- 20 See, for instance, Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1968), esp. pp. 1–29; John Finlayson, "Definitions of Middle English Romance," *Chaucer Review* 15 (1980–1): 44–62, 168–81; Paul Strohm, "Middle English Narrative Genres," *Genre* 13 (1980): 379–88; Barron, *English Medieval Romance*; and Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford University Press, 2004). More recently Yin Liu in "Middle English Romance as Prototype Genre," *Chaucer Review* 40(4) (2006): 335–53, drawing on cognitive linguistics, argues that romance functions as a "category ... defined not by its boundary but by its best examples," which "describe relationships between members," at p. 338; Liu's approach usefully highlights the disjunction between what is considered a prototypical romance by modern scholarship and by medieval authors at pp. 344–5. Also see K. S. Whetter, *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), who modifies the notion of family resemblances as defining genre by adding the "emphases and signification" through which "certain features come to be essential and defining," at pp. 19–20.
- 21 In addition to the general works listed previously, for studies on the audience of the English romances, see Derek Pearsall, "The Development of Middle English Romance," *Mediaeval Studies* 27 (1965): 91–116 and his "Middle English Romance and its Audiences," in *Historical and Editorial Studies in Medieval and Early Modern English for Johan Gerritsen*, ed. Mary-Jo Arn and Hanneke Wirtjes (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1985), pp. 37–47; Susan Crane, *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith, and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and Harriet Hudson, "Middle English Popular Romances: The Manuscript Evidence," *Manuscripta* 28 (1984): 67–78. For manuscript layout, see Murray J. Evans, *Rereading Middle English Romance: Manuscript Layout, Decoration, and the Rhetoric of Composite Structure* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), and for romance motifs, see Cooper, *English Romance in Time*. For romance as a mode, see Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton University Press, 1957), and Barron, *English Medieval Romance*, pp. 2–9.
- 22 Paul Strohm, "The Origin and Meaning of Middle English *Romaunce*," *Genre* 10 (1977): 1–28.
- 23 This definition is from Mary Hamel, "The Siege of Jerusalem as a Crusading Poem," in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University Press, 1992), pp. 177–94, who identifies *Richard Cœur de Lion*, *The Sowdone of Babylone*, *Sir Ferumbras*, and *The Siege of Jerusalem* (as well as *The Sege of Melayne* by implication) as crusading romances at pp. 177–8, though this view is implicitly shared by most scholars who discuss the subject.

- 24 See Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 63–113, as well as Stephen H. A. Shepherd, “‘This grete journeye’: *The Sege of Melayne*,” in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows, and Carol Meale (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 113–31, who includes *The Sege of Melayne* along with *Richard Cœur de Lion* and *The Siege of Jerusalem* as crusading romances or propaganda while noting that all of the Middle English Charlemagne romances involve some crusading element at p. 117. Robert Warm, “Identity, Narrative and Participation: Defining a Context for the Middle English Charlemagne Romances,” in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, ed. Rosalind Field (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), pp. 87–100, identifies *The Sege of Melayne*, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, *Richard Cœur de Lion*, the Charlemagne romances, and possibly the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* at p. 95 and p. 99 as crusading romances but only by limiting the crusading aspect as “a means rather than an end” of “encourag[ing] a sense of collective identity ... with the community of Christendom,” at p. 95 and pp. 97–8. Lee C. Ramsey links crusading to a group of historical romances that includes the Charlemagne romances, *Richard Cœur de Lion*, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, *Titus and Vespasian*, poems about Troy and Alexander, *Arthour and Merlin*, and the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, in *Chivalric Romances: Popular Literature in Medieval England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), but crusading means only “the defense of ordered, God-inspired civilizations against the threats of the surrounding world,” p. 77.
- 25 For “homiletic romance,” see Mehl, *The Middle English Romances*, pp. 120–58; for “secular hagiography” see Ojars Kratins, “The Middle English *Amis and Amiloun*: Chivalric Romance or Secular Hagiography,” *PMLA* 81(5) (1966): 347–54 and Diana Childress, “Between Romance and Legend: ‘Secular Hagiography’ in Middle English Literature,” *Philological Quarterly* 57 (1978): 311–22; and for “penitential romance” see Andrea Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights: A Study of Middle English Penitential Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). Also see Rhiannon Purdie, “Generic Identity and the Origins of *Sir Isumbras*” in *The Matter of Identity in Medieval Romance*, ed. Phillipa Hardman (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), pp. 113–24, particularly pp. 113–16 for a good account of this genre discussion.
- 26 Cooper, *English Romance in Time*, pp. 8–15, citations of Cooper and Jauss at p. 8.
- 27 See, for instance, Dana C. Munro, “The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095,” *American Historical Review* 11 (1906): 231–42; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), pp. 1–36; John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); H. E. J. Cowdrey, “Pope Urban II and the Idea of Crusade,” *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 36 (1995): 721–42; and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, rev. edn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

- 28 *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. Edward Peters, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 25–6.
- 29 *Fulcher of Chartres, A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, ed. Harold S. Fink, trans. Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), pp. 65–7.
- 30 Latin citations from *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 133–5; translations from *Fulcher of Chartres*, ed. Fink, trans. Ryan, p. 66. Fulcher also explains that because the crusaders “decorated themselves with this emblem of their faith, in the end they acquired from the symbol the reality itself. They clad themselves with the outward sign in order that they might obtain the inner reality,” at p. 68.
- 31 Latin citation from *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux*, ed. A. Beugnot *et al.*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844–95), vol. III, p. 728; translation from *Robert the Monk’s History of the First Crusade*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 80.
- 32 See *The First Crusade*, ed. Peters, pp. 29–37, and William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 599–607. The Latin citation is from Guibert of Nogent’s version in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux*, ed. Beugnot *et al.*, vol. IV, p. 138; the translation is from *The First Crusade*, ed. Peters, p. 34.
- 33 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, vol. 1, p. 607 and p. 613, respectively. I have replaced the translators’ choice of “nation” for the Latin *gens* with the more neutral “people.” Fulcher views the English as belonging to and represented by the larger Anglo-Norman political unit when he writes that “Robert, Count of the Normans, son of William, king of the English” collected “a great army composed of people of Normandy, England, and Brittany” to join the campaign; he also portrays the crusader forces as a composite group representing most of Western Europe when “such a multitude came from all Western countries” and formed “a countless number from many lands and of many languages,” *Fulcher of Chartres*, ed. Fink, trans. Ryan, p. 73. Because of the Norman conquest of England and the early involvement of the Normans at large with crusading, England could have a stronger link to the tradition than previously considered. On this connection see Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 14, and more generally Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford University Press, 2011), who argues for a more expansive understanding of the term “Franks” at the time of the First Crusade at p. 137 and p. 159.
- 34 Tyerman, *God’s War*, pp. 66–7.
- 35 See Lena Roos, “God Wants It!”: *The Ideology of Martyrdom in the Hebrew Crusade Chronicles and its Jewish and Christian Background* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), p. 11. On the persecution of Jews during the First Crusade

- and these chronicles, see Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), Jeremy Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), and Chazan, *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). See also Susan Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 17–44.
- 36 *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*, ed. and trans. Shlomo Eidelberg (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing, 1996), p. 99.
- 37 *Ibid.*
- 38 See *The “Chanson d’Antioche”: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 15–39, on the difficulties of dating the poem; the citations are from a mid-thirteenth-century manuscript, at pp. 342–3. The same manuscript again emphasizes the presence of “English, Flemish, Normans and those from Germany” at the sermon of Clermont, p. 345.
- 39 Marino Sanudo, *Marino Sanudo Torsello, The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. Peter Lock (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), p. 157.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 158. Sanudo derives his summarized account from an earlier history, but his version of Urban’s speech still contains the key crusading concepts, as he says a “race of Persians ... assail the people of God in the Holy Promised Land with fire and sword, partly slaughtering them with the sword and partly taking them captive, plundering the land and destroying the churches; they even circumcise Christians ... Surely the revenge for such evil rests on you ... therefore take up the cross on your shoulders ... leave your land shut in by mountains ... [and] exchange it for a land that flows with milk and honey ... Many who were present at the sermon put the sign of the cross on their shoulders as if the weight of the Lord alleviated them from the weight of their sins,” p. 212.
- 41 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 196. Nicholas of Jeroschin, *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190–1331*, trans. Mary Fischer (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), p. 238.
- 42 Nicholas of Jeroschin, *Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin*, trans. Fischer, pp. 240–1. Nicholas’s account of Clermont also mentions the defiling of holy places, the imagery of the cross, the crusading indulgence, penance, pilgrimage, and the theme of vengeance at pp. 239–40.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 241.
- 44 Cited from Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 36.
- 45 Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (London, 1639), p. 12.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 17 and p. 19.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 149.
- 48 Many of these texts are examined in subsequent chapters. On *Guy of Warwick* as a crusading romance, see Rebecca Wilcox, “Romancing the

- East: Greeks and Saracens in *Guy of Warwick*,” in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England*, ed. McDonald, pp. 217–40. The most thorough exploration of the *The Sege of Melayne* as a crusading romance is Shepherd, “‘This grete journee’,” who finds it akin to crusade propaganda. For a reading of the *Titus and Vespasian* as a crusading romance that “functions didactically on two levels, both as a figurative war of the soul against sin and as a spiritual justification of literal war against the enemies of Christendom,” see Maija Birenbaum, “Affective Vengeance in *Titus and Vespasian*,” *Chaucer Review* 43(3) (2009): 330–44, at p. 332. For views on the crusading interests of the other Middle English Charlemagne romances not named here, see Warm, “Identity, Narrative and Participation”; Janet M. Cowan, “The English Charlemagne Romances,” in *Roland and Charlemagne in Europe: Essays on the Reception and Transformation of a Legend*, ed. Karen Pratt (London: King’s College Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1996), pp. 149–68; and Marianne Ailes and Phillipa Hardman, “How English are the English Charlemagne Romances?” in *Boundaries in Medieval Romance*, ed. Neil Cartlidge (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 43–55. On *Sir Gowther* as a crusading romance, see Lee Manion, “Thinking through the English Crusading Romance: *Sir Gowther* and the Baltic,” in a forthcoming collection on medieval romance edited by Nicola McDonald and Katherine Little. I will discuss Berners’s *Huon of Bordeaux* and Johnson’s *Seven Champions of Christendom* in a separate study.
- 49 David Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 2, and Marion Turner, *Chaucerian Conflict: Languages of Antagonism in Late Fourteenth-Century London* (Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 2–5.
- 50 Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager comment, “With their potent admixture of violence, suffering, distance, sacred ritual, and cross-cultural encounters, the crusades created a dynamic framework for the development and performance of medieval identities,” “Introduction: Crusading and the Work of Memory, Past and Present,” in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), pp. 1–25, at p. 7.
- 51 See Adam Knobler, “Holy Wars, Empires, and the Portability of the Past: The Modern Uses of Medieval Crusades,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48(2) (2006): 293–325; Bruce Holsinger, *Neomedievalism, Neoconservatism, and the War on Terror* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2007); and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

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- I Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), p. 10.

- 2 Some of the studies focusing on nationalistic elements in the poem include: Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 120–3; Alan Ambrisco, “Cannibalism and Cultural Encounters in *Richard Coeur de Lion*,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29(3) (1999): 499–528; Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 63–113; and Suzanne Conklin Akbari, “The Hunger for National Identity in *Richard Coer de Lion*,” in *Reading Medieval Culture: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Hanning*, ed. Robert M. Stein and Sandra Pierson Prior (University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 198–227.
- 3 On Despenser’s crusade, see Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 333–8, where he notes that, “for all its canonical propriety, [it] was the Hundred Years War thinly disguised,” p. 336.
- 4 See David Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 2, who uses it to contrast the “communal ideology” of Florence and medieval England with the “vertical” absolutism of Milan and Tudor England, and Marion Turner, *Chaucerian Conflict: Languages of Antagonism in Late Fourteenth-Century London* (Oxford University Press, 2007), esp. pp. 2–5 and pp. 127–33, where she notes in contrast to Wallace’s more positive assessment that associational forms often failed to resolve debate and strife. Wallace himself draws upon, among others, Antony Black’s work on medieval guilds, where Black contrasts what he calls collective or “guild society” with “civil society”; see his *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984).
- 5 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn. (New York: Verso, 1991), pp. 6–7. For a summary of this usage, see Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 99–100 and pp. 352–3 n. 60, who nonetheless carefully differentiates her study of the discourse of medieval nationalism from Anderson’s. Wallace comments that Anderson’s description of nation-formation to some extent derives from and displaces associational forms, citing on p. 383 Anderson’s argument that “the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible ... not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings,” Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 7. For more on the limits of applying medieval nationalism to literary texts, see Thomas H. Crofts and Robert Allen Rouse, “Middle English Popular Romance and National Identity,” in *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009), pp. 79–95.
- 6 Wallace mentions this possibility in his discussion of Florence, noting that although the ideal of lateral equality might be realized in the “the lowest and the highest political forms of the commune ... the space *between* such constituent forms was itself hierarchized,” *Chaucerian Polity*, p. 25. The idea that

- associational forms do not preclude hierarchical relationships is key for my discussion of representations of the Third Crusade.
- 7 On the motivations and internal structure of the First Crusade, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. pp. 81–143, and his *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, rev. edn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 91–119, as well as Conor Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). More generally, see Marcus Bull, “Origins,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford University Press, 1995), hereafter *OIHC*, pp. 13–33; John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), esp. pp. 75–98; and Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006), esp. pp. 58–89.
 - 8 For these meanings, see “anti,” def. 1, III.1–2, in *A Greek–English Lexicon*, ed. H. G. Liddell and Robert Scott, rev. Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940).
 - 9 See Alan V. Murray, “Questions of Nationality in the First Crusade,” *Medieval History* 1 (1991): 61–73; Ian Short, “*Tam Angli quam Franci*: Self-Definition in Anglo-Norman England,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 18 (1996): 153–75, esp. pp. 162–4 on the early acknowledgment of Anglo-Norman unity at the end of the eleventh century and the identification of Normans as “Franci” rather than “Normanni”; and Marcus Bull, “Overlapping and Competing Identities in the Frankish First Crusade,” in *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l’appel à la croisade: Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand, 23–25 juin 1995* (Rome: Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 1997), pp. 195–211.
 - 10 On the Norman link among Sicily, England, and the First Crusade, see Paul Chevedden, “‘A Crusade from the First’: The Norman Conquest of Islamic Sicily, 1060–1091,” *Al-Masāq* 22(2) (2010): 191–225.
 - 11 See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 32–5, and Joseph P. Huffman, *Family, Commerce, and Religion in London and Cologne: Anglo-German Emigrants, c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 232–6.
 - 12 Citation from Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 33.
 - 13 The case for Raol’s authorship is made by Harold Livermore, “‘The Conquest of Lisbon’ and its Author,” *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990): 1–16.
 - 14 *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, ed. and trans. Charles Wendell David (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 26–7.
 - 15 See Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 139 and p. 311 n. 20 for a summary of these views.
 - 16 Huffman, *Family, Commerce, and Religion*, p. 235.
 - 17 The text and translations of the *De expugnatione* are from *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. and trans. David, unless otherwise noted; I provide the

original Latin in several instances in order to illustrate the text's deliberate mixing of legalistic and associational terms.

- 18 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 33, and Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 144.
- 19 David comments that this line indicates that the expedition was "bound together by oath in a formal association" and that the author likely had the text of the proclamation of ordinances (i.e., the "indictum") before him when writing the chronicle; he also links these ordinances to the ones devised for Richard I's fleet on the Third Crusade, but notes that the "Lisbon crusade seems to have been organized upon a more broadly democratic basis than any analogous enterprise"; see *De expugnatione*, pp. 57–8 n. 5.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 56–7.
- 21 Matthew Bennett calls this group action "allied warfare," but such a term fails to do justice to the perceived significance of the oath of association for the crusaders as well as their concern over proper religious intentions and behavior for the success of the campaign; see his "Military Aspects of the Siege of Lisbon," in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), pp. 71–89, citation at p. 85.
- 22 My translations.
- 23 Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 166.
- 24 See Huffman, *Family, Commerce, and Religion*, p. 235; citations from Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 71.
- 25 For the regulations of the Third Crusade in general, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 61–4; for the regulations devised by Richard and Philip at Messina specifically, see Roger of Howden, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1867), vol. II, pp. 129–32. Also see Björn Weiler, "The *Negotium Terrae Sanctae* in the Political Discourse of Latin Christendom, 1215–1311," *International History Review* 25(1) (2003): 1–36 for a discussion of how later crusade discourse continued to call for temporary peace as an integral part of the crusading enterprise.
- 26 All citations of Ambroise are from *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's "Estoire de la Guerre Sainte"*, ed. Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, trans. Marianne Ailes, 2 vols. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003) by line number for the original Anglo-Norman in vol. I and page number for the translation in vol. II. See the editors' introduction, vol. II, p. 2, for the details on Ambroise's life and writing. As they state, the original text was in Norman French, but the surviving version was copied by an Anglo-Norman scribe.
- 27 For information on Richard de Templo see the introduction to *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the "Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi"*, ed. and trans. Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 12–15, and Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, ed. Ailes and Barber, vol. II, p. 13. As Nicholson notes, Richard de Templo was prior of the Holy Trinity, an Augustinian priory in London, from 1222 to approximately 1250.

- 28 Citations of the *Itinerarium* in Latin are from *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1864), by page number; English translations are from *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. and trans. Nicholson, by page number unless otherwise noted.
- 29 See Black, *Guilds and Civil Society*, pp. 12–19, and Gervase Rosser, “Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England,” *Journal of British Studies* 33(4) (1994): 430–46, at pp. 430–3. Citations of Chaucer are from *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edn., ed. Larry Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), by line number. On the companion-in-arms comparison, see Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, ed. Ailes and Barber, vol. II, p. 35 n. 37. This language of companionship is also found in other accounts of the Third Crusade. *The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre* comments that the two kings swore an oath of loyal companionship; see *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, trans. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 93. Roger of Howden reports that this meeting involved the formal swearing of an oath and the sealing of a written document, while the barons and bishops of both realms swore to maintain the peace, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, vol. II, pp. 104–5. Roger also later calls the two kings “confratres” in “illa peregrinatione” [sworn brothers in that pilgrimage], at p. 129.
- 30 On the motives for this council, see Tyerman, *God’s War*, p. 469. In a related vein, see Matthew Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), esp. ch. 2, for an excellent discussion of the importance of unanimous decision-making in medieval English society.
- 31 The phrasing is from Madden, *New Concise History of the Crusades*, p. 10.
- 32 The literary allusions are to the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Chanson d’Aspremont*, and the *Chanson d’Antioche*.
- 33 Ambroise distinguishes between the French, “Franceis”, and the collective, non-national category Franks, “Franc”; see Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, ed. Ailes and Barber, vol. I, lines 8482 and 8489. Richard de Templo also does so, but with a more direct critique of the “moderni [Franci]” [modern French] in comparison to the old; see *Chronicles and Memorials*, ed. Stubbs, p. 333, and *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. and trans. Nicholson, p. 301, respectively. Interestingly, even when presenting idealized *exempla* of crusading’s associative practices, as Ambroise does here, the possibility of discord and disagreement exists; it is the handling of this discord that differs.
- 34 For more about the surviving manuscripts, see the introduction to *Richard Cœur de Lion: Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz*, ed. Karl Brunner (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1913). Though most scholars agree that a crusading element features strongly in the poem, a wide range of genre designations has been proposed for it, only some of which can be described here. Those who view the poem primarily as a crusading romance, albeit with varying definitions for that genre, include Mary Hamel, “The Siege of Jerusalem as a Crusading Poem,” in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage*

and *Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University Press, 1992), pp. 177–94, who identifies the *Richard* as well as *The Sowdone of Babylone*, *Sir Ferumbras*, and *The Siege of Jerusalem* (as well as *The Sege of Melayne* by implication) as crusading romances at pp. 177–8; Stephen H. A. Shepherd, “‘This grete journeye’: *The Sege of Melayne*,” in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows, and Carol Meale (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 113–31, who includes *The Sege of Melayne* along with the *Richard* and *The Siege of Jerusalem* as crusading romances or propaganda while noting that all of the Middle English Charlemagne romances involve some crusading element at p. 117; and Robert Warm, “Identity, Narrative and Participation: Defining a Context for the Middle English Charlemagne Romances,” in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, ed. Rosalind Field (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), pp. 87–100, who identifies *The Sege of Melayne*, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, the *Richard*, the Charlemagne romances, and possibly the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* as crusading romances but only by limiting the crusading aspect as “a means rather than an end” of “encourag[ing] a sense of collective identity ... with the community of Christendom,” at p. 95 and pp. 97–8. Those who label the *Richard* as something other than a crusading romance include: John Finlayson, “*Richard, Coer de Lyon*: Romance, History or Something in Between?” *Studies in Philology* 87 (1990): 156–80, who labels the shorter version of the poem a “historical epic” at p. 160 like the *chansons de geste* and *The Destruction of Troy* and, in a later article, “Legendary Ancestors and the Expansion of Romance in *Richard, Coer de Lyon*,” *English Studies* 79 (1998): 299–308, calls the longer version a “composite romance,” p. 308; Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, pp. 120–3, who, building on Finlayson, calls the Auchinleck version a “historical” work “that is both secular and nationalistic” at p. 122; Ambrisco, “Cannibalism and Cultural Encounters,” who describes the poem as an “English romance” and a “crusade text” that nonetheless attempts to “define a collective English identity,” p. 499, p. 521, and p. 522, respectively; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, who calls it a “nationalist romance” or a “popular romance,” p. 72 and p. 103; Akbari, “The Hunger for National Identity,” who calls it a “devotional romance” like *The Sege of Melayne* and *Ferumbras*, which she defines as “texts whose function is as much spiritual edification as festive diversion,” p. 218; and Suzanne Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 48–77, who, like Ambrisco, calls it a romance that uses Richard’s “identity as a national hero” and “crusade rhetoric” to “encourage its audience’s support of the Anglo-French war,” at pp. 75–6.

- 35 All citations of the *Richard* are from Brunner’s edition by line number; I have silently regularized thorns and yoghs. For a discussion of Middle English use of “geste” and “romance” to describe literary texts, see Paul Strohm, “The Origin and Meaning of Middle English *Romaunce*,” *Genre* 10 (1977): 1–28, esp. pp. 21–3, where he argues that the *Richard* uses the term “geste” to mean “a narrative account of actions or deeds” but notes the term’s “recollection”

- of the *chansons de geste*. Also see John Finlayson, "Definitions of Middle English Romance," *Chaucer Review* 15 (1980–1): 44–62, 168–81, particularly at pp. 52–7, where he discusses the distinction between *chansons de geste* and romances.
- 36 Finlayson, "Richard, Coer de Lyon," pp. 160–1.
- 37 For a discussion of the poem's source, see Roger S. Loomis, "Reviews and Notes," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 15 (1916): 455–66, at p. 456 and p. 463, where, building off the work of Gaston Paris, he argues that the French source must be from later in the thirteenth century, probably after 1250; see also Roger S. Loomis, "Richard Coeur de Lion and the Pas Saladin in Medieval Art," *PMLA* 30 (1915): 509–28, at pp. 510–11; and Ambrisco, "Cannibalism and Cultural Encounters," p. 500 and p. 523 n. 2. Yeager comments that the *Richard* may have had both an Anglo-Norman source and a Latin one because of references in some of the manuscripts, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, p. 51 and p. 185 n. 14. Though the poem's precise source is not central to my argument here, I find Yeager's suggestion that the *Estoire* and the *Itinerarium* "share many details in common with the poem" and thus may have been its source material quite reasonable, as it eliminates the need to speculate about the lost Anglo-Norman source, presumably derived from the *Estoire*, p. 52.
- 38 Historically Richard's death was at Chalus-Chabrol, south of Limoges, fighting against the viscount of Limoges; see John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 323–4.
- 39 Citations from Ambrisco, "Cannibalism and Cultural Encounters," p. 521, and Heng, *Empire of Magic*, p. 65, respectively. For other examples of this nationalist approach to the poem, see note 2, above.
- 40 For instance, see Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, p. 124; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, p. 100; and Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, p. 48. For a slightly different view, see Akbari, "The Hunger for National Identity," pp. 219–20, where she argues that the poem responds to Lollardy and to the claims of the Lancastrian dynasty to authenticity.
- 41 As Finlayson notes, the poem is "not ... a work largely compounded of fancy and fantastic legend, but is medieval 'history' heightened, simplified and sometimes rearranged to highlight its essential pattern and concentrate its meaning in the figure of a great English warrior and Crusader general," "Richard, Coer de Lyon," p. 179.
- 42 Neither of these issues featured heavily in fourteenth-century crusade discourse; see Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 827–9, pp. 834–8, and pp. 891–3; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 246–7 and pp. 264–9; and Norman Housley, "The Crusading Movement, 1274–1700," in *OIHC*, pp. 260–93, at pp. 260–72.
- 43 Derek Pearsall, "The Idea of Englishness in the Fifteenth Century," in *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. Helen Cooney (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), pp. 15–27, citations from p. 15 and 17, respectively.

- 44 Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 22.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 19. Butterfield makes the point that “A rhetoric of invective must not be equated too readily with nationalism, let alone taken as evidence for the state of the language,” at p. 24, and this view could apply equally well to the Richard’s abuse of the French.
- 46 Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 18.
- 47 Jonathan Harris, “Publicising the Crusade: English Bishops and the Jubilee Indulgence of 1455,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50(1) (1999): 23–37, citations from p. 31 and p. 37, respectively. On general interest in crusading in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Europe, see Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, pp. 122–40, Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 245–81, and for England in particular see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 302–23.
- 48 The *Itinerarium*, for example, contains several instances of anti-French invective seemingly intended to exculpate Richard, in *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. and trans. Nicholson, at pp. 163–5, pp. 223–5, p. 264, pp. 299–301, and pp. 345–6.
- 49 Several of the crusading “recovery” treatises produced in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries include historical accounts of Syria. Fidenzio of Padua, a Franciscan friar, covers six phases of ownership to the time before the Israelites and asserts (with some apocalyptic overtones) that “Septimo erit Christianorum” [Seventh it will belong to Christians], *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*, in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografia della Terra Sancta e dell’ Oriente francescano*, ed. G. Golubovich, 5 vols. (Quaracchi, 1906–27), vol. II, pp. 9–60, citation from p. 9. Marino Sanudo, a Venetian merchant, also included an extensive history of the Holy Land in Book III of his recovery treatise, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars, 2 vols. (Hanover, 1611), vol. II, pp. 1–288, reprinted with an introduction by Joshua Prawer (Jerusalem, 1972), at pp. 97–262, itself mainly borrowed from James of Vitry’s *Historia Hierosolimitana*.
- 50 The poem agrees with history by noting that Guy of Lusignan (or “Duke Myloun”) was eventually released by Saladin, but rather than recounting Guy’s actual subsequent battles to regain his title it simply concludes that “no man wyste neuere sithe / Where he become, ne in what kithe” (1319–20), and he is never mentioned again.
- 51 Ambroise and Richard de Templo also conclude their chronicles by condemning the capture and ransom of Richard during his return from the Holy Land as a failure on the part of fellow Christians; the *Itinerarium* writes that Richard’s “rivals advanced against him mercilessly and without cause” and that he “was trapped by his brothers in faith, seized by those who were believed to share his Christian profession – if only it were true!” in *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. and trans. Nicholson, p. 383.
- 52 For scholarly discussion of the recovery treatises see Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314*

- (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), and Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000); citation from Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 1.
- 53 For more on Gregory X, see Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, p. 21; also, one should note that Gregory X was himself following the precedent of Innocent III, who, on the eve of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), requested such advice from the clergy. For Nicholas IV, see Schein, pp. 74–5, and, more generally, pp. 91–3. For information on all three popes (Innocent III, Gregory X, and Nicholas IV), see Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, pp. 9–20.
- 54 For instance, Fidenzio notes that “divisio” [division] and the lack of a single leader greatly harmed Christians so that they lost the Holy Land in *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Golubovich, p. 15, yet when discussing the future kingdom of Jerusalem he returns to this idea of single, authoritative control under a “dux Christianorum” [leader of Christians]: “Presidentia unius boni capitis semper necessaria est in Terra Sancta, cui omnes Christiani obediant fideliter et devote, quia ... oportet quod diversitas Christianorum uno capite uniatur, sine quo nichil posset ad perfectionem adduci” [The leadership of one good head is always necessary in the Holy Land, whom all Christians will obey faithfully and devotedly since ... it is necessary that the diversity of Christians is united under one head, without which nothing is able to be brought to completion], p. 59.
- 55 Ramon Lull, *Liber de fine*, ed. A. Madre, *Raimundi Lulli opera latina* 9, CCCM 35 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), pp. 250–91, citation from p. 270; Fidenzio, *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Golubovich, p. 41; and Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, ed. Bongars, p. 35. For more general comments on the treatises’ views on leadership, see Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 97 and pp. 109–10, and Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, pp. 67–9.
- 56 Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, trans. Walther I. Brandt (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), citations from p. 150, p. 71, and p. 75, respectively.
- 57 See Housley, “The Crusading Movement,” pp. 264–8, Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, pp. 52–82, and France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom*, pp. 251–85.
- 58 On the recovery treatises’ “abstract” treatment of these issues, see Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 69 and p. 188. Also, as Leopold notes at p. 66, only one treatise even mentions the issue of crusaders’ temporal privileges, including the protection of their persons and property from attack, an issue which the *Richard* takes up in connection with its examination of associational forms.
- 59 To an extent the *Richard*’s study of the limits of associational forms is akin to Marion Turner’s reading of Chaucer’s representations of fellowship, though the poem is not as pessimistic as her conclusion about “the inevitably destructive nature of human fellowship and society,” *Chaucerian Conflict*, p. 2.

- 60 In determining the frequency of each term and its inclusion, I have only counted instances where the word contextually indicates some kind of political and/or religious bond, not every use of the word in the poem; the list of the frequency of usage and the definitions taken from the *Middle English Dictionary* (University of Michigan, 18 December 2001, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>, 6 July 2011, is as follows: “frend” [twelve uses, def. 1a]; “foreward” [nine, def. 1, 2a, 3a]; “treus” [seven, def. 1a, 2b, 6]; “covenaut” [six, def. 1a, 2a, 3b]; “accord” [six, def. 1c, 3, 5a]; “sworen brothir/trewe sworn/oth” [five, def. 1b, 2, 7, 8]; “compaignie” [two, def. 1, 1b, 3a]; and “felaw-rede” [one, def. 4, 5a, 5c, 6]. By comparison, the poem only uses the word “nation” once, when the French and the Greeks are said to have “dyspyssed our nacyons” (1848), a plural usage that seems to indicate the variety of “peoples” following Richard rather than conveying a sense of English nationalism, especially because it appears to parallel Richard’s later statement that he has lost his “barouns, / The beste of all my regyouns” (6763–4).
- 61 The term “croyserye,” according to the *Middle English Dictionary*, is derived from the Old French “crois” [cross], and only appears in English texts a handful of times; see “croiserie, n.,” in the *Middle English Dictionary*.
- 62 For instance, Fidenzio, *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Golubovich, pp. 41–6 and Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, ed. Bongars, pp. 273–81, though the latter is describing the new king of the Holy Land and not the leader of the church’s army.
- 63 Akbari, “The Hunger for National Identity,” at pp. 198–9; see also Heng, *Empire of Magic*, and Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, pp. 71–4. Indeed, even after Philip’s and Leopold’s departure, where one would expect the homogenizing of and an increasing emphasis on Richard’s “English” forces and identity, the poem stresses the variety of peoples Richard leads:

Kyng R. leffte with hys Englys,
Tuskaynes, Lumbardes, Gascoynes jwis,
Scottes, Yrysch, ffolk of Bretayne,
Gennayes, Baskes, and off Spayne.

(6035–8)

Since no medieval English king commanded Tuscans or Basques as part of his “nation,” it appears that even after Philip’s departure the campaign still emphasizes crusading’s associational interests.

- 64 Indeed, rather than solely blaming Philip II and the French for the campaign’s failure, the poem blames the duke of Austria and the duke of Burgundy (6015–22) as well as John of England and Philip (6539–44).
- 65 Fidenzio notes that the Saracens are “instabiles” [inconstant] in their promises and treaties, offering several examples of their treachery, *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Golubovich, pp. 23–5; he also raises the prospect of Christians converting to Islam and fighting against their former co-religionists at p. 13. The anonymous *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*, written to Philip VI of France, denounces the character of Muslims extensively, *Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1869–1906), vol. II,

- pp. 367–517, at pp. 391–2. Sanudo closes his treatise by noting that the “purity of faith and morals must be preserved” in the Holy Land by expelling heretics, schismatics, and the simply impious; see Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, ed. Bongars, pp. 280–1, citation from Marino Sanudo, *Marino Sanudo Torsello, The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. Peter Lock (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), p. 446.
- 66 See Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 375–8; Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, pp. 160–1; and Tyerman, *God’s War*, pp. 225–30 and p. 670.
- 67 Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 87–91, pp. 175–80, and pp. 212–17; Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, pp. 101–4, pp. 111–19, and pp. 138–50; and France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom*, pp. 212–15 and pp. 238–8 on the Mongols and pp. 223–4 and p. 231 on the Byzantines.
- 68 Citations from Bull, “Origins,” p. 16; see also Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 8–10, and Tyerman, *God’s War*, pp. 27–57.
- 69 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 184, and Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 217–19. While temporal protections for the crusader’s land and goods had been offered since Urban II’s speech at Clermont in 1095, at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) Innocent III formally declared that the *crucesignati* themselves were protected, although this inclusion was probably implicit in earlier papal decrees: “quorum personas et bona post crucem assumptam sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus ... et si quisquam contra praesumpserit, per censuram ecclesiasticam compescatur” [We take their persons and goods under the protection of St Peter and ourself once they have taken up the cross ... If anyone dares to act contrary to this, let him be curbed by ecclesiastical censure], *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), vol. 1, p. 269. On legal issues with the privileges in general, see James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 159–90.
- 70 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 224–8 and p. 284.
- 71 See Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 222–53.
- 72 Citation translated *ibid.*, p. 222; for the original Latin text see Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols. (London, 1868–71), vol. III, pp. 195–6. For the spread of the news, see Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 233–4, and Howden, *Chronica*, vol. III, pp. 196–7.
- 73 Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton: historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. H. F. Delaborde, 2 vols. (Paris, 1882), vol. 1, p. 121, my translation. This example is cited in Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 233 n. 42.
- 74 Roger of Howden, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, trans. H. T. Riley, 2 vols. (London, 1853), vol. II, p. 282.
- 75 *Ibid.*, pp. 284–5.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 285.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 290.

- 78 See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 281 and pp. 295–301. The proposal itself can be found in Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II: A Plea Made in 1395 for Peace Between England and France*, ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1976), citations from p. 31 and p. 69; see also p. 32 for Philippe's accusation that Richard's forefathers prevented crusade campaigns because of their wars against the French.
- 79 Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, pp. 108–34, citations at p. 108 and p. 109. See also Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The "Travels" of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), esp. pp. 33–48; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, pp. 241–305; and Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 52–66.
- 80 Middle English citation from *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour, EETS o.s. 319 (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 4. For the Latin Vulgate version's ending, see *Liber Ioannis Mandevil*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, in *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation (London, 1589)*, Hakluyt Society c.s. 39, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 76–7.
- 81 Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, trans. Brandt, p. 75.
- 82 See France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom*, p. 88; Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, p. 46; and Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 15–75.
- 83 France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom*, p. 98 and p. 114; Jonathan Phillips, "The Latin East, 1098–1291," in *OIHC*, pp. 112–40, at pp. 113–16; and Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).
- 84 Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, pp. 549–56.
- 85 Two good introductory works are William Urban, *The Baltic Crusade*, 2nd edn. (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 1994) and Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525*, 2nd edn. (London: Penguin, 1997).
- 86 Cited in Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 123; see also Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, pp. 53–9.
- 87 Citations from Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 196, and Housley, "The Crusading Movement," p. 275, respectively. For a recent challenge to the view that the Teutonic Knights had papal authorization to preach campaigns at their discretion, see Axel Ehlers, "The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania Reconsidered," in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 21–44, though Ehlers still concludes that "the war against Lithuania seems to have counted for a permanent holy war within the 'interpretational framework' of contemporaries," p. 43.
- 88 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 268–76, particularly at p. 274.

- 89 See *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. and trans. Nicholson, pp. 318–19 for an example of taking Muslim prisoners and releasing Christians. The only example of conversion to Christianity I have found is an addition by the author of the *Itinerarium* to Ambroise's account that mentions three "Turkish apostates" who spontaneously convert after Richard defeats their raiding party at p. 272.
- 90 Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 101.
- 91 See the introduction to Sanudo, *Marino Sanudo Torsello*, trans. Lock, pp. 1–14, as well as Christopher Tyerman, "Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade: Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982): 57–73.
- 92 Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, pp. 26–7 and pp. 34–5.
- 93 Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, ed. Bongars, p. 1 and p. 91, translation from Sanudo, *Marino Sanudo Torsello*, trans. Lock, p. 21 and p. 151, respectively.
- 94 See Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 85 and pp. 103–4, and Lull, *Liber de fine*, ed. Madre, pp. 282–4.
- 95 Lull, *Liber de fine*, ed. Madre, p. 283.
- 96 *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Tanner, vol. 1, p. 380.
- 97 See Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 144, and Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 166–71, who notes that most Christian contemporaries viewed Richard's decision to execute the prisoners as justified, while the Muslim view was understandably more hostile. Nicholson argues that the *Itinerarium's* account of this event is more ambiguous and sees its protestations as evidence suggesting that "many in Europe also regarded it as a barbarous act," *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 231 n. 7, although the brevity of the *Itinerarium's* account does not seem to indicate any great worry about its reception.
- 98 The poem emphasizes this policy through repetition; it repeats the idea of forced conversion or death at lines 3967–70, 4282–99, 4598–614, 4688–94, 4703–5, 5365–78, 5879–90, 6269–95, and 6327–32.
- 99 See *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. and trans. Nicholson, pp. 316–19 and pp. 352–68, respectively.
- 100 Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, p. 2.
- 101 Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*, pp. 34–5.
- 102 Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 135–8; also see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 239–40.
- 103 Several historians have identified this period as one of expansion and interest in crusading, not decline. See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 229–58; Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 7–39; and France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom*, pp. 202–50.
- 104 *Fulcher of Chartres, A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, ed. Harold S. Fink, trans. Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), p. 88.
- 105 Fidenzio, *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Golubovich, p. 15, p. 35, p. 37, and p. 38.

2 SIR ISUMBRAS'S "PRIVY" RECOVERY: INDIVIDUAL CRUSADING
IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

- 1 Fidenzio of Padua, *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*, in *Biblioteca bibliografica della Terra Sancta e dell' Oriente francescano*, ed. G. Golubovich, 5 vols. (Quaracchi, 1906–27), vol. II, pp. 9–60, citation from p. 40; the original Latin reads, “fideles pugiles Christi, qui amore Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi exponunt propriam vitam, non debent inordinate concupiscere terrenam substantiam, sed ipsi debent cor suum habere ad Terram Sanctam de infidelium manibus liberandam, ad habendam peccatorum suorum omnium veniam, et ad eterne vita ... possidendam.” I have silently regularized chi-rho abbreviations throughout the Latin citations. All translations throughout are my own unless otherwise noted. Portions of this chapter originally appeared in my article, “The Loss of the Holy Land and Sir Isumbras: Literary Contributions to Fourteenth-Century Crusade Discourse,” *Speculum* 85(1) (2010): 65–90, reprinted with permission, copyright © Cambridge University Press.
- 2 Just a sample of recent work in these areas includes: Nancy Bradley Warren, *The Embodied Word: Female Spiritualities, Contested Orthodoxies, and English Religious Cultures, 1350–1700* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2010); Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011); *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England*, ed. Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, and Derrick G. Pitard (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2009); David Aers, *Sanctifying Signs: Making Christian Tradition in Late Medieval England* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2004); Shannon Gayk, *Image, Text, and Religious Reform in Fifteenth-Century England* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) and more generally *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson, and Nancy Bradley Warren (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). Much of the impetus for this work can be traced to pioneering studies by Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), by Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), by Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), and by Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism (1200–1350)* (New York: Crossroad, 1998).
- 3 The exceptions to this statement are in themselves revealing: the Hospitaller Crusade of 1309–10, though initially intended to involve the French and to prepare for a *passagium generale* [general passage], ended up securing only the conquest of Rhodes for the Hospitallers as their new base of operations in the East; Peter I of Cyprus's crusade to Alexandria in 1365 was funded almost entirely by himself and was never followed by the *passagium generale* that was promised; and the failed crusade to Nicopolis of 1395–6 did not have the recovery of the Holy Land as its real aim, being more of a relief effort against the Ottoman Turks. For more on these crusades, see A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1965) and Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford University Press, 1992).

- Nonetheless, crusades still occurred throughout the fourteenth century: in Spain by the Castilians and Aragonese, in Hungary, in Italy against the Ghibellines, in Poland, in Bohemia, in Flanders, and in Castile by John of Gaunt, but, besides the exceptions already mentioned, there were none to the Holy Land; summaries of crusading in other locations can be found in Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 259–64, and John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 225–37.
- 4 Adam of Murimuth, *Continuatio chronicarum*, ed. Edward M. Thompson (London, 1889), p. 73. See also Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 252–8, and more generally his *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006), pp. 829–34, as well as Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 123–32.
 - 5 See Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 3rd edn. (New York: Ignatius Press, 2002), Norman Housley, “The Crusading Movement, 1274–1700,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford University Press, 1995), hereafter *OIHC*, pp. 260–93, and Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 88–98 and pp. 125–6.
 - 6 See Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 38–9. In the view of some historians, 1291 is less of a defining moment than it appears to be, since the entire period from 1270 to 1340 faced similar problems of recovery logistics; see Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, p. 123. Regardless, my point is that Acre's loss highlighted these problems for a large section of the populace and that it provides context for early fourteenth-century English literary interests.
 - 7 In general see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 302–23, and Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 376–420. The revised view on Nicopolis is Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 856–8, citation at p. 856, where he also comments that the campaign “did not mark a watershed between crusading optimism and pessimism” at p. 857.
 - 8 Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 258.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, p. 259. Housley describes the relationship similarly: “Crusaders were predominantly penitential pilgrims, but they were also expected to fight,” *Contesting the Crusades*, p. 16.
 - 10 Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), pp. 159–61.
 - 11 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 259–80 and pp. 291–3, though Tyerman points out that in some documents a distinction between crusading and peaceful pilgrimage is made, pp. 282–7; I owe several of the examples that follow to Tyerman's work.
 - 12 *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici, heremitae de Finchale*, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1847), pp. 33–4, and Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 26–7, citation at p. 27.
 - 13 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 189, and Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 102–8.

- 14 Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols. (London, 1872–83), vol. III, p. 620, translated in *Matthew Paris's English History*, trans. J. A. Giles, 3 vols. (London, 1852–54), vol. I, p. 239.
- 15 *Matthew Paris's English History*, trans. Giles, vol. I, p. 287 and p. 289. For the legend of St. Giles or Aegidius, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. II, pp. 147–9.
- 16 Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. IV, p. 629; translation from *Matthew Paris's English History*, trans. Giles, vol. II, p. 231.
- 17 Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. V, p. 153; my translation.
- 18 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 124–32, and Esther Rowland Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown: The Life and Times of Otho de Grandson* (University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 15–36.
- 19 On Otho's second crusade, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 236–9, and Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown*, pp. 107–33.
- 20 As Clifford argues, the assumption that Edward would lead a crusade explains Otho's stay in Armenia, for his "journey to Armenia had been no mere side issue; it was part and parcel of his original commission, which had not ended with the fall of Acre, to prepare for the day when Edward should come in person to help defend the two Christian kingdoms of the East against the Saracen and perhaps even to lead his troops in the eventual recovery of the Holy Land," *A Knight of Great Renown*, p. 134.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 125–6 and the illustrations following p. 78.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 207 and pp. 123–4.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 246–7 and pp. 261–2.
- 24 See Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 481–8.
- 25 For the later date and number of manuscripts of the poem, see *A Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. J. Burke Severs, vol. I, *Romances* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967), pp. 122–3; the claim for the earlier date in the fourteenth century is made in *Four Middle English Romances: Sir Isumbras, Octavian, Sir Eglamour of Artois, Sir Tryamour*, ed. Harriet Hudson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), p. 7, and supported by Rhiannon Purdie, "Generic Identity and the Origins of *Sir Isumbras*," in *The Matter of Identity in Medieval Romance*, ed. Phillipa Hardman (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), pp. 113–24, at p. 118. In either case, the poem belongs to the period of interest in crusading reform in the early fourteenth century following the loss of the Holy Land.
- 26 Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1968), p. 121. My reading of the English romance in general and *Sir Isumbras* in particular disagrees strongly with Mehl's assertion that the English romances were "fairy-tales, stories from a distant past ... they were not an immediate confrontation with the present," p. 4.
- 27 *Cursor mundi*, ed. R. Morris, EETS o.s. 57 (London, 1874), p. 9. William of Nassington's introduction to the *Speculum vitae* is cited in *The Thornton Romances*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell, Camden Society 30 (London, 1844), p. xx.
- 28 All citations of the poem come from *Six Middle English Romances*, ed. Maldwyn Mills (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1973), unless otherwise noted,

- by line number; this citation is from line 28. Other editions include the composite text *Sir Isumbras*, ed. J. Zupitzas and Gustav Schleich, *Palaestra* 15 (Berlin: Mayer & Muller, 1901), pp. 1–128, and the more recent TEAMS edition in *Four Middle English Romances*, ed. Hudson, pp. 7–44.
- 29 Other romances typically grouped with *Sir Isumbras* include *Emaré*, *Octavian*, *Amadace*, *Sir Gowther*, and *Guy of Warwick*; see the introduction in *Six Middle English Romances*, ed. Mills, pp. viii–xviii. For a different grouping based on the manuscript tradition, see Murray J. Evans, *Rereading Middle English Romances: Manuscript Layout, Decoration, and the Rhetoric of Composite Structure* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), pp. 51–82, in which Evans describes the “*Isumbras*-group” as containing *The Earl of Toulous*, *Libeaus Desconus*, *Octavian*, *Sir Eglamour*, *Beves of Hampton*, *Sir Degaré*, and of course *Sir Isumbras* itself.
- 30 Mehl, *The Middle English Romances*, pp. 128–35; W. R. J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (New York: Longman, 1987), p. 204; Anne Thompson, “Jaussian Expectation and the Production of Medieval Narrative: The Case of ‘Saint Eustace’ and *Sir Isumbras*,” *Exemplaria* 5(2) (1993): 387–407; and Purdie, “Generic Identity,” pp. 113–24.
- 31 Thompson, “Jaussian Expectation,” p. 388.
- 32 Purdie, “Generic Identity,” p. 124.
- 33 Laurel Braswell, “‘*Sir Isumbras*’ and the Legend of Saint Eustace,” *Mediaeval Studies* 27 (1965): 128–51, at p. 133. While I acknowledge *Sir Isumbras*’s evident parallels to the Eustace legend, in my view the poem’s reworking of this material is only comprehensible in light of the social and political changes wrought by the crusade.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 150, and Purdie, “Generic Identity,” p. 117.
- 35 Andrea Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights: A Study of Middle English Penitential Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 119–43 and Elizabeth Fowler, “The Romance Hypothetical: Lordship and the Saracens in *Sir Isumbras*,” in *The Spirit of Medieval English Popular Romance*, ed. Ad Putter and Jane Gilbert (London: Longman, 2000), pp. 97–121.
- 36 Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights*, p. 140.
- 37 Fowler, “The Romance Hypothetical,” p. 119.
- 38 While Hopkins acknowledges that *Isumbras*’s combat with the sultan throws a snag in her penitential interpretation and suggests that “there [may be] a hint of the idea (mistakenly inferred from crusading indulgences) that defending Christianity against heathens atones for or cancels out sins,” she quickly returns to the symbolism of *Isumbras*’s spiritual journey without considering crusade discourse as a possible influence on the poem’s unusual penitential practices; citation from *The Sinful Knights*, p. 142. Cole’s examination of crusade sermons provides one reason why even the spiritual symbolism of the poem may link it to crusade discourse, for as she comments, “By the middle of the thirteenth century ... the idea of crusading as penance was taking definite shape. The sermons composed ... were more didactic than exhortatory; they provided explanations of the moral and spiritual significance of

- crusading and, in the process, stripped the crusade of its martial realism and replaced this with a wholly spiritual message,” *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 175. Similarly, while Fowler’s study exposes the poem’s ambitious interrogation of political dominion in, as she calls it, the “stark landscape of ‘suppose’,” she does not consider why a romance author would undertake this interrogation specifically in early fourteenth-century England; citation from “The Romance Hypothetical,” p. 99.
- 39 On Otho’s probable views on converting the Saracens, see Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown*, p. 246. For the poem’s mention of Acre and Jerusalem, see the note to line 504 in Mills’s edition and line 520; also compare *Sir Isumbras*, ed. Hudson, lines 496 and 511.
- 40 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 88.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 269; see also p. 242, p. 244, and pp. 281–6 for accounts of individual journeys in the fourteenth century.
- 42 James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 149–51, and Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 181–2, pp. 197–8, p. 200, pp. 205–9, and pp. 214–15.
- 43 Christoph Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 113.
- 44 Mehl, *The Middle English Romances*, p. 133.
- 45 Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights*, pp. 132–3, describes the nature of Isumbras’s failing in relation to these knightly ideals as an improper “application of wealth” and a misuse of his knightly revenue.
- 46 See *ibid.*, pp. 70–118 and pp. 144–78 on the penitential aspects of the two poems as well as Rebecca Wilcox, “Romancing the East: Greeks and Saracens in *Guy of Warwick*,” in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. Nicola McDonald (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 217–40, and Lee Manion, “Thinking through the English Crusading Romance: *Sir Gowther* and the Baltic,” in a forthcoming collection on medieval romance edited by Nicola McDonald and Katherine Little.
- 47 Citations from Malcolm Barber, “The *Pastoureaux* of 1320,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981): 143–66, at pp. 156–7, and Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 235.
- 48 Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 236–7.
- 49 Barber, “The *Pastoureaux*,” p. 144.
- 50 For a study of the related phenomenon known as the Children’s Crusade of 1212, see Gary Dickson, *The Children’s Crusade: Medieval History, Modern Mythistory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- 51 “Annales Gandenses,” in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum*, ed. G. H. Pertz *et al.*, 32 vols. (Hanover, 1826–1934), vol. xvi, pp. 555–97, at p. 596. See also Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 27; Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 233–8; and Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 144–6, for more on the 1309 movement in general.

- 52 “Annales Gandenses,” p. 596.
- 53 As Tyerman argues, this conflation of crusader with pilgrim went against Urban II’s original conception of holy warfare and “diluted [its] radicalism”; see *God’s War*, pp. 72–4.
- 54 James A. Brundage, “‘Cruce Signari’: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England,” *Traditio* 22 (1966): 289–310, at pp. 291–2, and Kenneth Pennington, “The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century,” *Traditio* 30 (1974): 429–35, at pp. 429–30.
- 55 Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 235.
- 56 Ptolemy of Lucca, “Vita Clementis V,” in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. E. Baluze, rev. G. Mollat, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1914–27), vol. 1, p. 34; “Annales Lubicensis,” in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum*, ed. G. H. Pertz et al., 32 vols. (Hanover, 1826–1934), vol. XVI, pp. 411–29, at p. 421. For the indulgence of one hundred years that the participants earned, see Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 237.
- 57 Barber, “The Pastoureaux,” pp. 144–7. For the chronicle account that claims that Englishmen took part in the movement as well, see *ibid.*, p. 146 n. 11.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 157.
- 59 Malcolm Barber argues from the chronicle evidence that the participants in the 1320 movement believed that their simple shepherd garb would allow them to succeed where the rich and corrupt had failed due to the increasing part played by the shepherds in the Christmas story in the Mystery Plays. Also, dressed as pilgrims with scrip and staff, they participated in an actual battle against Ghibellines in 1320, though they were mocked by the other soldiers; see Barber, “The Pastoureaux,” p. 149 and pp. 162–3.
- 60 See Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 16–19 and Housley, “The Crusading Movement, 1274–1700,” p. 262 on the desire for professional armies.
- 61 On the persecution of Jews during the First Crusade, see Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), and Jeremy Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
- 62 David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 1996), citations from p. 46 and p. 50, respectively.
- 63 Bernard Gui, “Tertia Vita Joannis XXII,” in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. Baluze, vol. 1, p. 161.
- 64 *Ibid.*
- 65 *Ibid.*
- 66 The manuscript is National Library of Scotland Advocates MS 19.3.1 from the late fifteenth century, fols. 48a–56b, cited in *Sir Isumbras*, ed. Hudson, p. 43, note to line 692. Despite this manuscript’s late date, its evidence is useful because it appears to be expanding upon the same core idea regarding conversion that was already present in the earlier surviving texts of the poem, particularly since in the next stanza Isumbras, “Crysyndome to helpe,” sends

commands far and wide to “sle [all] that hethen were,” thereby causing the large battle through a more direct threat to his own and possibly neighboring Saracen kingdoms; see *Sir Ysumbras*, ed. Schleich, p. 57.

- 67 The poem also suggests that Isumbras is dressed as a palmer in the “turnement” (604) at his wife’s castle where he was “horsed ... on a croked steede” (605) yet defeated all the Saracens, since his unrecognizing wife refers to him as such (614) while praising his performance.
- 68 Barber, “The *Pastoureaux*,” p. 161.
- 69 Mehl, *The Middle English Romances*, pp. 134–5.
- 70 For a summary of these texts and their value for historians, see Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 114–34.
- 71 This combination of criticism of the nobility and crusade leaders with a turn towards individual purity and action was not unprecedented. After the failure of the Second Crusade (1145–9), according to Jonathan Phillips, “the first major questioning of crusading” occurred, with the result that no major expedition was launched until the fall of Jerusalem, though small groups and individuals continued to participate; see *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 269–79, citation from p. 272. This earlier shift in perception set a precedent for the critical reactions to the loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291, and may have had some indirect influence on texts like *Sir Isumbras*.
- 72 Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 115, and “Introduction,” *Excidii Aconis gestorum collectio; Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Aconensis et tocius Terre Sancte*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 202 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 18–19 n. 36.
- 73 My translation; the original Latin reads, “res gesta ... nuperrime in Acone nobilissima civitate ... flebilibus sit fidelium mugitibus lamentanda, res ipsa suo ex ordine potius ad excitationem fidelium, ut ad tantarum vindictam iniuriarum in Christi obprobrium terre sancte illatarum pie moveantur, est retexenda,” from *Excidii Aconis gestorum collectio*, ed. Huygens, part 1, lines 2–8. All citations will be from this edition by part and line number. Citations of Thadeus of Naples’s *Ystoria* are also from Huygens’s text by line number with my translation.
- 74 *Ibid.*, pp. 24–7.
- 75 Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 180–1, his translation. Tyerman notes: “Although ubiquitous in liturgy and as a public Christian symbol, worn equally by the non-crusading religious orders, members of confraternities or reformed heretics, the cross, with its particular association with ... Jerusalem, lent the crusade an almost infinite plasticity of application, association, meaning and metaphor while retaining its precise central point of reference,” *God’s War*, pp. 480–1.
- 76 Citations from *Excidium Aconis*, part 2, line 195, and Thadeus, *Ystoria*, line 526.
- 77 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, lines 1330–2.
- 78 *Excidium Aconis*, part 2, lines 667–72.

- 79 As further evidence that the *Excidium* was received this way by contemporaries, in a study of one of the early manuscripts containing the Old French translation, Nancy Vine Durling argues that the compiler further augmented and redirected the text's allegorical meaning by substituting a letter by Jean de Villers, the master of the Hospitallers and another survivor of the siege, regarding Acre's capture for the chronicle's original prologue. As Durling explains, this substitution, which emphasized the "theme of cyclical destruction and rebirth," presented the sack of Acre as an analogue to the reader that "may now be aligned with other legendary accounts of persecution successfully overcome" in the manuscript collection; see Nancy Vine Durling, "The *Destruction d'Acre* and its Epistolary Prologue (BNF FR.24430)," *Viator* 42(1) (2011): 139–78, citations from p. 144 and p. 148.
- 80 *Excidium Aconis*, part 2, lines 750–70.
- 81 *Ibid.*, part 2, lines 785–9.
- 82 *Ibid.*, part 2, lines 794–800.
- 83 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, lines 1327 and 849, respectively.
- 84 *Ibid.*, lines 20–31.
- 85 *Ibid.*, lines 1460–2.
- 86 *Ibid.*, lines 1118 and 1122–40.
- 87 *Sir Isumbras*, ed. Mills, lines 617–18 and 643–5.
- 88 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, lines 1321–2.
- 89 See Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The State of Mind of Crusaders to the East, 1095–1300," in *OIHC*, pp. 66–90, at pp. 82–4 on the penitential preaching of the crusade.
- 90 *Sir Isumbras*, ed. Hudson, lines 491, 494, and 511.
- 91 Citation from *Sir Isumbras*, ed. Hudson, lines 496–8. The two manuscripts are Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 175 fols. 98–106 (c. 1425–50) and the Thornton Manuscript, Lincoln Cathedral MS 91 (c. 1440), fols. 109–14. Manuscripts from the latter half of the fifteenth century omit the reference to Acre, including British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.ii fols. 130–4 (c. 1450–1500), the basis for Mills's edition of the poem.
- 92 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, lines 1587–94.
- 93 Fowler, "The Romance Hypothetical," pp. 113–16.
- 94 Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 98–9, his translation.
- 95 Thadeus, *Ystoria*, lines 1598–9.
- 96 See Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 172–9, and, for example, Fidenzio, *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*, ed. Golubovich, pp. 58–9.
- 97 Fowler, "The Romance Hypothetical," pp. 115–18.
- 98 Fidenzio, *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*, ed. Golubovich, p. 13.
- 99 Though it likely had no effect on the poem, the idea of interreligious marriage in relation to crusading was not solely a literary topic in English history. According to some Islamic chronicle sources, during the Third Crusade Richard I (perhaps as a joke or delaying tactic) offered his sister Queen Joan

- in marriage to Saladin's brother al-Adil, known to the West as Saphadin, if the latter would convert to Christianity; the two would then rule all the land west of the river Jordan as Christian leaders. Though these negotiations failed, nonetheless they constitute a well-known attempt to acquire Eastern lands for Christendom through a contract of marriage and conversion; see *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 2nd edn., 6 vols. (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–89), vol. II, p. 77, and John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 184–9.
- 100 The manuscripts are Gray's Inn MS 20 (1350) (fragmentary) and Gonville and Caius College MS 175; citation from Hudson's edition, lines 295–7.
- 101 *Ordinacio de predicacione Sancti Crucis in Anglia*, in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. R. Röhrich, Société de l'Orient Latin 2 (Geneva, 1879), pp. 1–26, citation at p. 22. On the text's history and purpose, see Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 110–11, and Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 163–5.
- 102 On the importance of legal charters, see Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1993). For the description of Livonia, see Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 687. This parallel is made explicitly in Henry of Livonia's chronicle, which records an appeal by Bishop Albert of Livonia to the pope; see Henry of Livonia, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. James A. Brundage, 2nd edn. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 152.
- 103 Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte*, ed. Angelo Diotti (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1977), pp. 158–9, translated in Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, trans. Walther I. Brandt (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 124.
- 104 For more on Dubois's idea of wifely conversion, see Michael R. Evans, "Marriage as a Means of Conversion in Pierre Dubois' *De recuperatione Terre Sancte*," in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 195–202.
- 105 Fidenzio, *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*, ed. Golubovich, p. 58.
- 106 For confirmation that Urban II had the reunion of the churches as a top priority in his plan, see Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 349–50, and E. O. Blake, "The Formation of the 'Crusade Idea'," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21(1) (1970): 11–31, esp. pp. 13–15.
- 107 Margaret Switten, "Singing the Second Crusade," in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), pp. 67–75, discusses a song from the Second Crusade composed by the troubadour Jaufre Rudel, "Lanquand li jorn son lonc in mai," in which the speaker, going on crusade, expresses longing for his "lady," Jerusalem, in the manner of courtly love poems, and mentions the sweet songs of birds, sadness, wandering, being proclaimed captive in the kingdom of the Saracens, fine discourse, and the idea of presenting himself as a pilgrim with staff and cloak in order to see his lady. Switten notes that the "thematic center

- of Jaufre Rudel's corpus of six songs is the concept of distant love," p. 69, and the song "Lanquand li jorn," besides circulating widely in the Middle Ages, "inspired a legendary fourteenth-century *vida* ... which describes Jaufre's trip to the Holy Land as a quest for the love of the Countess of Tripoli," p. 70. The song's numerous parallels to the plot of *Sir Isumbras* again are suggestive, but they also illustrate how another genre – the love song – was adapted and employed in medieval thought about crusading, since, as Switten comments, "the central concept of distance is at one and the same time physical, temporal, psychological, spiritual, human *and* divine," p. 72. For more on the crusade song, see Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, 2nd edn. (London: Hutchinson, 1978), pp. 107–8, pp. 127–31, and pp. 138–9; Dorothea Carolyn Martin, "The Crusade Lyrics: Old Provençal, Old French and Middle High German, 1100–1280" (dissertation, University of Michigan, 1984); and Michael Routledge, "Songs," in *OIHC*, pp. 91–111.
- 108 Christoph Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 4–8 and pp. 136–7, and Simon Lloyd, "The Crusading Movement, 1096–1274," in *OIHC*, pp. 34–65, at pp. 47–8.
- 109 Christopher Tyerman, "Some English Evidence of Attitudes to Crusading in the Thirteenth Century," in *Thirteenth Century England* 1, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), pp. 168–74, citation from p. 170.

3 FICTIONS OF RECOVERY IN LATER ENGLISH CRUSADING
ROMANCES: *OCTAVIAN* AND *THE SOWDONE OF BABYLONE*

- 1 John Gower, *Vox clamantis*, in *The Complete Works of John Gower: The Latin Works*, ed. G. C. Macaulay (Oxford, 1902), vol. IV, 3.9.651–66, translation from Elizabeth Siberry, "Criticism of Crusading in Fourteenth-Century England," in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter Edbury (Cardiff: University College Press, 1985), pp. 127–34, at p. 130. Gower's original Latin in Macaulay's edition reads:

Linea natalis matris de iure fatetur
Heredem Cristum, qua fuit ortus, humi
...
Hanc tenet intrusor modo set paganus ...
...
Nos neque personas neque res repetendo mouemus
Bella viris istis ...
...
Set magis in fratres ...
Pro mundi rebus publica bella damus.

- 2 *Letter to King Richard II: A Plea Made in 1395 for Peace between England and France*, ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1976), p. 70.

- 3 For the dates of the surviving manuscripts of the two poems, see the introduction to *Richard Cœur de Lion: Der Mittelhenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz*, ed. Karl Brunner (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1913), and *A Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. J. Burke Severs, vol. 1, *Romances* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967), pp. 122–3.
- 4 Citation from Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 265. See also John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 251–85; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 245–74; and Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 72–3. Another factor was the relative lack of support by English monarchs for the nobility that reduced the interregional cooperation required for large-scale crusading endeavors. For instance, the English, French, Scottish, and Cypriot kings met in London in 1363 to discuss a crusade to the East, and though Peter I of Cyprus's resulting crusade to Alexandria in 1365 included some English knights, Edward III provided no royal support for them. Peter was forced to abandon the captured city after six days because of lack of manpower and aid; see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 290–3.
- 5 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 259–301, and Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 243–7; see also Norman Housley, "Perceptions of Crusading in the Mid-Fourteenth Century: The Evidence of Three Texts," *Viator* 36 (2005): 415–33, esp. pp. 416–17.
- 6 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 266 and pp. 292–3.
- 7 For a discussion of the relationship of English crusading in the Baltic to the romance *Sir Gowther*, see Lee Manion, "Thinking through the English Crusading Romance: *Sir Gowther* and the Baltic," in a forthcoming collection on medieval romance edited by Nicola McDonald and Katherine Little.
- 8 Of course, the work of individual scholars writing about crusading in Middle English literature resists simple division into two approaches, as several blend aspects of both, but the general scheme remains useful for highlighting a problem with the current category of the crusading romance in English literature.
- 9 For an example of the first group see Celia Lewis, "History, Mission, and Crusade in the *Canterbury Tales*," *Chaucer Review* 42(4) (2008): 353–82, and for an example of the second see Mary Hamel, "The *Siege of Jerusalem* as a Crusading Poem," in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 177–94, esp. pp. 177–8. Lee C. Ramsey links crusading to a group of historical romances that includes the Charlemagne romances, *Richard Cœur de Lion*, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, *Titus and Vespasian*, poems about Troy and Alexander, *Arthour and Merlin*, and the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, writing that "Crusading is really the main activity of these romances, although it appears in various guises. The siege of Jerusalem, Alexander's expedition to the East, and the attacks on Aigremore and Atalie in the *Fierabras* and *Otinel*

stories are all described in ways that parallel the account of Richard's crusade. The same is true of Arthur's expeditions into Saxony, Lorraine, and Italy," in *Chivalric Romances: Popular Literature in Medieval England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), p. 76, but crusading means only "the defense of ordered, God-inspired civilizations against the threats of the surrounding world," p. 77. By contrast, Marco Nievergelt argues that the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* contains crusading rhetoric in his "Conquest, Crusade and Pilgrimage: The *Alliterative Morte Arthure* in its Late Ricardian Crusading Context," *Arthuriana* 20(2) (2010): 89–116, though he does not identify it as a crusading romance. While I agree with his assessment of crusading interest and debate in England in the late fourteenth century, particularly the notion that "pilgrimage and crusading ventures were becoming more and more scattered, individual, and often penitential," p. 108, as I see it the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* is better understood as meditating on contemporary political thought on sovereignty; see Lee Manion, "Sovereign Recognition: Contesting Political Claims in the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* and *The Awntyrs off Arthur*," in *Law and Sovereignty in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Robert Sturges (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 69–91.

- 10 For a rebuttal of the notion that Gower and Langland objected to crusading in general, as opposed to crusades against Christians such as the Flanders campaign, see Siberry, "Criticism of Crusading in Fourteenth-Century England," pp. 127–34. On Chaucer's relation to the crusades, see, for example, Maurice Keen, "Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusades," in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), pp. 45–61; Stefan Vander Elst, "Tu es pèlerin en la sainte cité: Chaucer's Knight and Philippe de Mézières," *Studies in Philology* 106(4) (2009): 379–401; and Lewis, "History, Mission, and Crusade in the *Canterbury Tales*."
- 11 Citations from H. M. Smyser, "Charlemagne Legends," in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, ed. Severs, vol. 1, p. 80, which does not even mention crusading in connection with the poems. For more recent approaches challenging this notion, see Robert Warm, "Identity, Narrative and Participation: Defining a Context for the Middle English Charlemagne Romances," in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, ed. Rosalind Field (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), pp. 87–100; Janet M. Cowan, "The English Charlemagne Romances," in *Roland and Charlemagne in Europe: Essays on the Reception and Transformation of a Legend*, ed. Karen Pratt (London: King's College Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1996), pp. 149–68; Marianne Ailes and Phillipa Hardman, "How English are the English Charlemagne Romances?" in *Boundaries in Medieval Romance*, ed. Neil Cartlidge (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 43–55; and Thomas H. Crofts and Robert Allen Rouse, "Middle English Popular Romance and National Identity," in *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009), pp. 79–95.

- 12 Cowan, "The English Charlemagne Romances," p. 150.
- 13 Most recently see Suzanne Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), esp. ch. 4, and to a lesser extent Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 5–6 and pp. 258–87.
- 14 See Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 189–202. According to Housley, however, the recovery treatises essentially transformed into the tracts produced throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries against the Ottoman Turks that, in some respects, "adhered to a pattern of thinking which dated back three centuries," *The Later Crusades*, p. 384.
- 15 See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 293–300, and the introduction to *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, pp. ix–xxxiv. On the *Epistre*'s context in fourteenth-century culture and in Philippe's work see Anne Curry, "War or Peace? Philippe de Mézières, Richard II and Anglo-French Diplomacy," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 295–319, and Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006), pp. 106–21.
- 16 See Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 271–2; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 264–5 and pp. 278–80; and the introduction to John Clanvowe, *The Works of Sir John Clanvowe*, ed. V. J. Scattergood (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1965), pp. 9–27.
- 17 On the Order in general, see Andrea Tarnowski, "Material Examples: Philippe de Mézières' Order of the Passion," *Yale French Studies* 110 (2006): 163–75.
- 18 Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), pp. 129–37, citation at p. 132.
- 19 *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, p. 31.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 24 Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars, 2 vols. (Hanover, 1611), vol. II, pp. 1–288, reprinted with an introduction by Joshua Prawer (Jerusalem, 1972), at pp. 39–47; translated in Marino Sanudo, *Marino Sanudo Torsello, The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. Peter Lock (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 76–86.
- 25 See the introduction to *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, pp. xxii–xxiv, and Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 295–7.
- 26 Philippe's theory of one king who nonetheless should automatically be granted aid by all others to govern the Holy Land is not original. However, it is notable as an attempt to rewrite the historical status of the kingdom of Jerusalem into the literal common property of all Christians (Philippe alternatively calls it the "terre pub[li]que de la crestiente" and "la chose publique de tous les crestiens"),

- which would thus be subject to special rules; see *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, p. 26 and pp. 99–100 (for the original French).
- 27 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–7.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 100 (for the original French) and p. 27.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 Philippe himself describes the contents of his text as “diverse yet interconnected,” *ibid.*, p. 62.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 55 and p. 60, respectively.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- 34 On the Nicopolis crusade, see Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 74–9; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 300–1; and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 272–3. On the crusading interests of Richard II and Henry IV, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 312–14.
- 35 Perhaps significantly, Clanvowe either was not invited to join Philippe’s Order or was not interested in it, though he was sent to negotiate peace with France repeatedly in the late 1380s and in 1391; see Derek Brewer, *Chaucer and His World* (Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 1978), pp. 144–50.
- 36 Clanvowe, *Works*, ed. Scattergood, p. 63 and p. 57, respectively. I have silently regularized thorns and yoghs for all citations.
- 37 For the former view see K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), and for a modified version of McFarlane’s conclusions that stresses the eclectic nature of dissenting religious practices, see J. Anthony Tuck, “Carthusian Monks and Lollard Knights: Religious Attitude at the Court of Richard II,” in *Studies in the Age of Chaucer, Proceedings I, 1984: Reconstructing Chaucer*, ed. Paul Strohm and Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: New Chaucer Society, 1984), pp. 149–61, and J. A. F. Thomson, “Knightly Piety and the Margins of Lollardy,” in *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), pp. 95–111.
- 38 For Clanvowe identified as a Lollard supporter, see Thomas Walsingham, *Chronica monasterii s. Albani: historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley, 2 vols. (London, 1863–4), vol. II, p. 159.
- 39 *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381–1394*, ed. and trans. L. C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 433. On the Mahdia campaign, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 278–80, and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 271–2.
- 40 The editors note that Gloucester had been given the power to negotiate with the Teutonic Order on behalf of Richard II in *The Westminster Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Hector and Harvey, p. 479 n. 2. Anthony Luttrell disagrees with the editors’ identification of the Clifford here as Thomas Clifford in Siegrid Düll, Anthony Luttrell, and Maurice Keen, “Faithful unto Death: The Tomb Slab of Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, Constantinople 1391,” *Antiquaries Journal* 71 (1991): 174–90, at p. 180.
- 41 *The Westminster Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Hector and Harvey, p. 481.

- 42 Düll, Luttrell, and Keen, “Faithful unto Death,” pp. 174–90.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 182 and p. 184. For a discussion of the sexual and social implications of Clanvowe’s and Neville’s relationship and tomb, see Alan Bray, *The Friend* (University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 18–22.
- 44 Düll, Luttrell, and Keen, “Faithful unto Death,” p. 179.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 183.
- 46 Clanvowe, *Works*, ed. Scattergood, p. 70.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 57. See also Luke 13:23–4 for another version of this idea.
- 48 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), vol. 1, p. 603. Matthew 7:14 is also cited by the German author of a Latin *Historia Peregrinorum* [The history of the pilgrims] (c. 1200) about the Third Crusade; see *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. Graham A. Loud (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), p. 136, where the author states in the prologue: “Indeed, what is more worthy of record and better suited to edification than to recall the labours of pilgrims and those fighting for the Holy Cross, the men who in our times have experienced so many travails and such dangerous wars for the name of Christ, and [in doing so] have left such examples of courage and steadfastness to be imitated? For ‘narrow is the way which leadeth unto life,’ and since ‘he rejoices in the patience of suffering,’ those who are faithful to Christ and have chosen with devoted and intrepid heart to suffer hard and bitter things for His sake may expect the reward of eternal life.”
- 49 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, vol. 1, p. 603.
- 50 Clanvowe, *Works*, ed. Scattergood, p. 70, p. 58, and p. 59, respectively.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 60 and p. 61, respectively.
- 55 Christoph Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for Preaching the Cross* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 115 and p. 119, respectively.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 119.
- 57 Clanvowe, *Works*, ed. Scattergood, p. 61.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 69.
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 61.
- 60 See the discussions in Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 24–39, and Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006), pp. 83–9, esp. p. 87, where he mentions another version of the two ways idea attributed to Urban II, who said that “there are only two gates to eternal life; baptism and genuine penitence,” cited from Robert Somerville,

- “*Prolegomena* (to the edition of *Decreta Claromontensia*),” in *Papacy, Councils and Canon Law in the 11th–12th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993).
- 61 For the date of the poem, see *Octovian Emperor: Ed. from MS BL Cotton Caligula A.11*, ed. Frances McSparran (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979), pp. 19–20; all citations of the poem will be from this edition by line number. I have silently regularized thorns and yoghs throughout.
- 62 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–38, and Nola Jean Bamberry, “Evolution of the Popular Hero in the English *Octavian* Romances,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 51 (1990): 363–88, pp. 364–7.
- 63 See *Octovian*, ed. Frances McSparran, EETS o.s. 289 (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 40–2.
- 64 *Richard Cœur de Lion*, ed. Brunner, line 6731. William of Nassington’s introduction to the *Speculum Vitae* is cited in *The Thornton Romances*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell, Camden Society 30 (London, 1844), p. xx. See also *Laud Troy Book*, ed. J. Ernst Wülfing, EETS o.s. 121–2, 2 vols. (London, 1902–3), vol. 1, line 19; I owe this reference to *Octovian Emperor*, ed. McSparran, p. 26. Intriguingly, a version of the lost French text, labeled *Gesta octouiani imperatoris*, may have existed in a manuscript owned by the Dover Priory. The 1389 catalogue of its contents shows the manuscript containing several romance texts associated with crusading, such as *La Romonse de ferumbras*, a Charlemagne text called *Gesta karoli magni in gallicis*, *La chanson d’Aspremont*, and a *Pseudo-Turpin* in prose; see *Octovian Emperor*, ed. McSparran, pp. 31–2.
- 65 For a selection of scholarship on the Northern version, see Martha Fessler Krieg, “The Contrast of Class Customs as Humor in a Middle English Romance: Clement and Florent in *Octavian*,” *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 9 (1984): 115–24; Bamberry, “Evolution of the Popular Hero,” pp. 371–83; John Simons, “Northern *Octavian* and the Question of Class,” in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows, and Carol Meale (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 105–11; and Angela Florschuetz, “Women’s Secrets: Childbirth, Pollution, and Purification in Northern *Octavian*,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 30 (2008): 235–68. The three editions of this version are in *Six Middle English Romances*, ed. Maldwyn Mills (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1973), *Octovian*, ed. McSparran, and *Four Middle English Romances: Sir Isumbras, Octavian, Sir Eglamour of Artois, Sir Tryamour*, ed. Harriet Hudson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996).
- 66 Maldwyn Mills, “The Composition and Style of the ‘Southern’ *Octavian*, *Sir Launfal* and *Libeaus Desconus*,” *Medium Aevum* 31 (1962): 88–109, citation at p. 89. Dieter Mehl calls it “a rather artless product” with “the careless stringing together of episodes” in comparison to the Northern version, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1968), p. 119, while McSparran also contrasts the Northern version’s “competent and conscientious author” with the Southern version’s “series of brief, sketchy and disjointed episodes,” *Octovian Emperor*, pp. 47–8. For a different view, see William Fahrenbach, “Rereading Clement in Thomas

- Chestre's *Octavian* and in BL Cotton Caligula A.II," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 26 (2010): 85–99. The scholarly edition is *Octovian Emperor*, ed. McSparran.
- 67 For "domestic romance," see Ramsey, *Chivalric Romances*, p. 186, who nonetheless finds that its main "concerns are with politics and social class." For "family romance," see Harriet Hudson, "Octavian: Introduction," in *Four Middle English Romances*, and Felicity Riddy, "Middle English Romance: Family, Marriage, Intimacy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 235–52. Though she does not mention *Octavian* specifically, on the family romance see also Heng, *Empire of Magic*, p. 185. Citations of Mehl are from *The Middle English Romances*, p. 112, p. 117, and p. 118, respectively.
- 68 *Octovian Emperor*, ed. McSparran, pp. 39–44.
- 69 Judith Weiss comments on this ambiguity regarding the emperor portrayed in the Anglo-Norman poem based on the spelling of the name "Otheuiens" in her "Ineffectual Monarchs: Portrayals of Regal and Imperial Power in *Ipomedon*, *Robert le Diable* and *Octavian*," in *Cultural Encounters in the Romance of Medieval England*, ed. Corinne J. Saunders (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 55–68, at p. 63.
- 70 Mehl appropriately calls the opening of this version a "little sermon," *The Middle English Romances*, p. 118.
- 71 *Octovian Emperor*, ed. McSparran, p. 45.
- 72 Fahrenbach, "Rereading Clement in Thomas Chestre's *Octavian*," p. 86.
- 73 See *Octovian Emperor*, ed. McSparran, n. to lines 985–1056.
- 74 As Bamberry states, "The northern versions have traces of the Anglo-Norman Florent, caught between noble nature and middle-class nurture, but the southern version shows Florent with only one dimension: superiority to his fellows," "Evolution of the Popular Hero," p. 369.
- 75 *Octovian Emperor*, ed. McSparran, p. 49.
- 76 Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, pp. 100–9, citation at p. 105; see also his *The Later Crusades*, pp. 267–90.
- 77 See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 32–5 and pp. 277–8, and Jennifer Goodwin Wollock, "Medieval England and Iberia: A Chivalric Relationship," in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th–15th Century: Cultural, Literary, and Political Exchanges*, ed. María Bullón-Fernández (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 11–28, at pp. 12–19.
- 78 R. F. Yeager, "Chaucer Translates the Matter of Spain," in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages*, ed. Bullón-Fernández, pp. 189–214, at p. 189. Yeager's point can be extended to studies of the English romance by simply glancing at the table of contents for W. R. J. Barron's *English Medieval Romance* (New York: Longman, 1987), which divides most English romances according to the "Matters" of France, Rome, Britain, and England, and ignores Iberia.
- 79 *The Sege of Melayne* and *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear* are the only poems that have no clear French source. See in general Ailes and Hardman, "How English are the English Charlemagne Romances?" pp. 43–55, and Cowan, "The English Charlemagne Romances," pp. 148–68.

- 80 On the groupings of the Charlemagne romances, see Smyser, “Charlemagne Legends.”
- 81 The first view is expressed by Mehl, *The Middle English Romances*, p. 156, by Cowan, “The English Charlemagne Romances,” pp. 150–3, and by Warm, “Identity, Narrative and Participation,” pp. 87–8; the second by Stephen H. A. Shepherd, “‘This grete journee’: *The Sege of Melayne*,” in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows, and Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 113–31, p. 114, and by Ailes and Hardman, “How English are the English Charlemagne Romances?” pp. 53–5; and the third by Barron, *English Medieval Romance*, p. 106, and by Crofts and Rouse, “Middle English Popular Romance,” p. 95. For an argument related to the last view, see Melissa Furrow, “*Chanson de geste* as Romance in Medieval England,” in *The Exploitations of Medieval Romance*, ed. Laura Ashe, Ivana Djordjevic, and Judith Weiss (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 57–72.
- 82 Ailes and Hardman, “How English are the English Charlemagne Romances?” p. 44 and p. 55.
- 83 All citations of the poem are from *Three Middle English Charlemagne Romances*, ed. Alan Lupack (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1990), by line number; I have also consulted the scholarly edition *The Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone*, ed. Emil Hausknecht, EETS e.s. 38 (London, 1881). For more on the “Ferumbras” group, see Cowan, “The English Charlemagne Romances,” pp. 159–62. As Cowan notes, *The Sowdone of Babylone* shares several features, including the material from *La Destruction de Rome*, with an Anglo-Norman text in British Library MS Egerton 3028. For a full discussion, see H. M. Smyser, “*The Sowdon of Babylon* and its Author,” *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 13 (1931): 185–218.
- 84 Ailes and Hardman discuss how the poem’s prologue, not found in the source material, adds a moral dimension to the tale: “In the *Sowdane of Babylone* we find a different take on this conflict [of Charlemagne’s defense of Christendom against Muslim invasion]: an introductory pre-prologue for the *Destruction de Rome* part, not present in the Anglo-Norman text, sets the story in the universal context of God’s good creation and man’s sinfulness, presenting the fall of Rome as a consequence of sin, with the heathen Sowdan cast in the role of the scourge of God. As the poet also leaves out any reference at this point to the Saracens’ seizure of the relics of the Passion and Charlemagne’s mission to recapture them, this moralizing narrative of sin and punishment provides an alternative argument for the English poem, briefly recapitulated at the end of the whole work,” “How English are the English Charlemagne Romances?” p. 45.
- 85 This reading parallels what Shepherd has suggested regarding the crusading connotation of the word “journee” in *The Sege of Melayne*; see “‘This grete journee,’” p. 130, and “voyage, n.,” def. 1c and 2a in the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford University Press, June 2012), <http://oxforddictionaries.com/>, accessed 15 August 2012. As the *OED* indicates in def. 2a, Robert of Gloucester used the term “veage” specifically to refer to the First Crusade

- (a “croyserie” to the “holy lond”) in his late thirteenth-century chronicle; see *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. William Aldis Wright, 2 vols. (London, 1887), vol. II, p. 579.
- 86 As Hausknecht states in his edition, “Ascalon” and “Ethiopes” occur in no other version of the poem; see *The Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone*, p. 141 and p. 103 n. to line 257.
- 87 *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, p. 26. Hausknecht notes that Laban is identified as the sultan, not the admiral or emir, only in this version of the Ferumbras story; see *The Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone*, p. 96 n. to line 22, though he acknowledges one reference to Laban as such in the *Destruction de Rome*.
- 88 Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), pp. III–43.
- 89 For the references to Chaucer, see Hausknecht’s edition, *The Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone*, p. 97 n. to line 42 and p. III n. to line 939, as well as the discussion in Smyser, “*The Sowdon of Babylon and its Author*,” pp. 205–9.
- 90 Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 135.
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. 113.
- 92 *Ibid.*, p. 118.
- 93 *Ibid.*, p. 119, though, as Goodman indicates, Gaunt did not use the treaty while campaigning in Iberia.
- 94 The significance of Galicia for the English literary imagination is stressed in *Turpines Story* (c. 1460), an incomplete prose romance of Charlemagne and his peers translated from the Latin version of the popular *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, with possible alterations to fit an English tradition and English dynastic claims to the throne of France. The romance relates how “oure famose emperoure Charlis the Grete delyuered the lond of Spayne and Galice fro the powere of the Sarzyns” and connects the conversion of Galicia in Iberia by St. James and his martyrdom to later Christian claims to rule there; see *Turpines Story: A Middle English Translation of the “Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle,”* ed. Stephen H. A. Shepherd, EETS o.s. 322 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), citation from p. 3, as well as Shepherd’s introduction, pp. xxxix–xlii and pp. xlviii–liv.
- 95 Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 136, and Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, “The Shrine as Mediator: England, Castile, and the Pilgrimage to Compostela,” in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages*, ed. Bullón-Fernández, pp. 47–65, at p. 56.
- 96 Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 129. Even Walsingham, who comments critically on the frequent use of the crusade indulgence, casts Gaunt’s crusade as a success: “In Spain he had at first suffered misfortunes, but in the end he had been brought to the summit of felicity, not through the strength of his men or the numbers of his soldiers, but through the manifest favour of God,” *The Chronica maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376–1422*, ed. James G. Clark and trans. David Preest (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), p. 275. By contrast, *The Westminster Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Hector and Harvey, makes more of Gaunt’s claim, calling him the “true heir of Spain” at p. 165, and the

crusade's holy warfare, noting that if the king of Castile refuses to fulfill the negotiated terms then "the duke was of course free to take vigorous military action against him to destroy him and his people, as being in the truest sense enemies of Christ's cross," at p. 195.

97 Arsuaga, "The Shrine as Mediator," pp. 57–60.

98 See Walsingham, *Chronica monasterii s. Albani: historia Anglicana*, ed. Riley, vol. II, p. 314; translation from Walsingham, *The Chronica maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, ed. Clark, trans. Preest, p. 413. Tyerman attributes this involvement in the Ceuta crusade to the marriage of Gaunt's daughter to João I, but finds that the "Spanish crusade against the Moors was of little importance in fourteenth-century England, in contrast to France," *England and the Crusades*, p. 278.

99 See Amélia P. Hutchinson, "'Os Doze de Inglaterra': A Romance of Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Later Middle Ages?" in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages*, ed. Bullón-Fernández, pp. 167–87.

100 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 338.

101 Wollock, "Medieval England and Iberia: A Chivalric Relationship," p. 22.

102 For instance, on Philippa's bridging of English and Portuguese culture as queen of Portugal, especially her supposedly inspirational role for her sons in the crusade against Ceuta, where they called to mind their English and Norman ancestors and adopted Anglo-Norman mottos, see Joyce Coleman, "Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal – and Patron of the Gower Translations?" in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages*, ed. Bullón-Fernández, pp. 135–65, esp. pp. 146–51.

103 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 185–9, citation at p. 189.

104 The chronicle account is found in *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde: Chronica et annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1866), pp. 162–4. See also Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 134, and in general Ana Echevarría, "Catalina of Lancaster, the Castilian Monarchy and Coexistence," in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence: Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, ed. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 79–122.

105 This same emphasis on religious conformity or conversion can be seen when Floripas offers Roland one of her maidens for his saving of Guy from the sultan's forces. Roland refuses, saying that "Our lay wole not that we with youe dele / Tille that ye Cristyn be made" (2751–2), which may also refer to the Fourth Lateran Council's forbidding of relations between Christians and Jews or Saracens; see *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 266–7.

106 The poem augments this pointed contrast of the heroic convert with the traitorous Ganelon when Charlemagne attempts to have the two children of Saracen giants found in the city "cristenede" (3026) as Roland and Oliver, though they die from the loss of their mother's milk.

- 107 *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and trans. Coopland, p. 60.
- 108 Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p. 218.
- 109 For discussion by historians, see for instance Keen, “Chaucer’s Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusades,” p. 266; and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 245–6. For a sample of literary studies, see Thomas J. Hatton, “Chaucer’s Crusading Knight, A Slanted Ideal,” *Chaucer Review* 3(2) (1968): 77–87; William Urban, “When Was Chaucer’s Knight in ‘Ruce’?” *Chaucer Review* 18(4) (1984): 347–53; Henry Ansgar Kelly, “Chaucer’s Knight and the Northern ‘Crusades’: The Example of Henry Bolingbroke,” in *Medieval Cultural Studies: Essays in Honour of Stephen Knight*, ed. Ruth Evans, Helen Fulton, and David Matthews (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), pp. 152–65; and Lewis, “History, Mission, and Crusade in the *Canterbury Tales*,” pp. 355–6.
- 110 The text of the letter from British Library MS Cotton Vespasian B XVI that I cite here is found in *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS o.s. 15 (London, 1866), pp. 12–14; I have silently regularized thorns. Other versions exist in Aberdeen University Library MS 123, British Library MS Additional 46846, British Library MS Additional 34193, and Trinity College, Cambridge MS O 2 53. In some versions, the sultan identifies himself as Balthasar.
- 111 Lesley A. Coote, “A Letter from Babylon: Henry VI and the Sultan of Syria,” *Al-Masāq* 14(1) (2002): 17–24, citations from p. 17 and p. 22, respectively.

4 REFIGURING CATHOLIC AND TURK: EARLY MODERN LITERATURES OF CRUSADING AND THE END OF THE CRUSADING ROMANCE

- 1 Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 13.
- 2 Citation from Carol Delaney, “Columbus’s Ultimate Goal: Jerusalem,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48 (2006): 260–92, at p. 261. More generally, see Carol Delaney, *Columbus and the Quest for Jerusalem* (New York: Free Press, 2011), as well as Pauline Moffitt Watts, “Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus’s ‘Enterprise of the Indies’,” *American Historical Review* 90(1) (1985): 73–102, who notes that “Columbus’s ultimate goal, the purpose of all his travels and discoveries ... [was] the liberation of the Holy Land,” at p. 99. On Ferdinand and Isabella’s crusading campaigns, see John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 290–6.
- 3 See James Simpson, *The Oxford English Literary History*, vol. II, 1350–1547: *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, general editor Jonathan Bate, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), esp. pp. 1–6 and pp. 558–61, where Simpson notes that although the “dissolution of the boundary line would be a misrepresentation of history,” at p. 558, he nonetheless argues that, “Literary history by both medievalists and early modernists has tended ... to accept a little

too uncritically the standard periodization,” at p. 3. For a view that similarly acknowledges the continuity of certain practices but asserts a definitive change in the early modern period, see Greg Walker, “When Did ‘the Medieval’ End? Retrospection, Foresight, and the End(s) of the English Middle Ages,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Elainereharne and Greg Walker (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 725–38. On the medieval romance in particular as crossing the period boundary, see Andrew King, “*The Faerie Queene*” and *Middle English Romance: The Matter of Just Memory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003); and Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford University Press, 2004), esp. pp. 3–6 and pp. 22–40, who comments that “It was not humanism nor Protestantism that finally drove such [medieval romances] out of high cultural visibility, but satire,” at p. 39.

- 4 See the commentary in Robert J. Topinka, “Islam, England, and Identity in the Early Modern Period: A Review of Recent Scholarship,” *Mediterranean Studies* 18 (2009): 114–30, at p. 118, pp. 125–6, and p. 130.
- 5 See King, “*The Faerie Queene*” and *Middle English Romance*, p. 37; Wendy Griswold, *Renaissance Revivals: City Comedy and Revenge Tragedy in the London Theatre, 1576–1980* (University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 213–16; and Roslyn L. Knutson and David McInnis, “The *Lost Plays Database*: A Wiki for Lost Plays,” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 24 (2011): 46–57.
- 6 See the useful survey of recent work on England and Islam in Topinka, “Islam, England, and Identity in the Early Modern Period,” as well as Emily Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London’s Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge University Press, 2003); Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005); Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); and Emily Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From “Alcazar” to “Othello”* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). Benedict S. Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature: The Politics of Romance from Spenser to Milton* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) is a notable exception.
- 7 For the effects of some of these changes on crusading activity, see Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 343–70; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 282–91, and Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 140–3.
- 8 See Jonathan Harris, “Publicising the Crusade: English Bishops and the Jubilee Indulgence of 1455,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50(1) (1999): 23–37;

- Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 276–7, and Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006), pp. 865–6.
- 9 See Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 411 and Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 872.
 - 10 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 288–97.
 - 11 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 352.
 - 12 Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 901.
 - 13 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 343–5 and p. 363, and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 283.
 - 14 See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 354–8 and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 254–7.
 - 15 For the volunteers mentioned, see Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 418; also see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 307–11 for other examples of individuals crusading or on pilgrimage in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. On Stukeley's presence at Lepanto, see Juan E. Tazón, *The Life and Times of Thomas Stukeley* (c. 1525–78) (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), p. 151 and pp. 163–4, and Dimmock, *New Turkes*, p. 127. For the volunteers in Hungary, see V. J. Parry, *Richard Knolles' History of the Turks*, ed. Salih Özbaran (Istanbul: Economic and Social Foundation of Turkey, 2003), p. 23 n. 10, although Parry acknowledges that some of these reports may not be truthful.
 - 16 Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 420.
 - 17 Citations from Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 354, p. 323, and p. 345, respectively.
 - 18 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580*, 2nd edn. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 4. The literature on the Protestant Reformation in England, as well as “revisionist” and now “post-revisionist” views of it, is too large to account for here; useful studies include Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Peter Marshall, *Reformation England 1480–1642*, 2nd edn. (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012).
 - 19 The text is in British Library MS Royal 18 B xxvi. On the difficulty of assessing the genuineness of Henry's interest in this crusading plan, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 352–3.
 - 20 Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 391.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, p. 455, and Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 349; the details about the London bonfires are from Raphael Holinshed's chronicle. For the text of the prayers for Malta and Hungary see *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer Set Forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. William K. Clay (Cambridge, 1847), pp. 519–35.
 - 22 See John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online [TAMO]* (1570 edition) (Sheffield: HRI Online Publications, 2011), www.johnfoxe.org,

- accessed 15 August 2012, pp. 892–937. All citations will be to this edition by page number; also see the discussion of Foxe's attitude toward the Turks in Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, p. 165; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 76–9; and McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*, pp. 58–60.
- 23 Foxe, *TAMO* (1570 edition), p. 938 and p. 921. Indeed, this section of Foxe's book resembles a crusading recovery treatise, for in his view only through the reform of the church, the "brotherly concorde and agreement" of Christian rulers, and English awareness of the "troubles and afflictions of our Christen brethren suffered by the Turkes" will "the sword of the Christians ... shall soone vanquishe the Turkes pryde and furie"; Foxe's concluding with "A Prayer agaynst the Turkes" so that the Christendom "may recouer and florishe ouer all" makes clear the loss and recovery pattern familiar from earlier crusade discourse. Citations from p. 917, p. 921, p. 893, and p. 937, respectively.
 - 24 Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 903. On Protestant English attitudes towards the concept of Christendom in this period see Franklin Le Van Baumer, "The Church of England and the Common Corps of Christendom," *Journal of Modern History* 16(1) (1944): 1–21; Le Van Baumer, "The Conception of Christendom in Renaissance England," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6(2) (1945): 131–56; and, more recently, Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, pp. 1–26, who sees European identity emerging from the failure of Christendom.
 - 25 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 316 and p. 305. Tyerman also notes that, "Texts of crusade history and advice continued to be written, copied, or, later, printed with undiminished energy into the sixteenth century, when new genres of vernacular literature emerged regarding the Turkish menace," *God's War*, p. 886.
 - 26 On the number of Turk-related texts and their repetition of medieval material, see Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, pp. 22–3.
 - 27 See Joerg Fichte, "Caxton's Concept of 'Historical Romance' within the Context of the Crusades: Conviction, Rhetoric and Sales Strategy," in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, ed. Rosalind Field (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), pp. 101–13, who describes Caxton's *Godeffroy* as "characterised by a sense of urgency: the realisation that it was high time for the princes of Christian Europe to make a concerted effort to fight the Turks," at p. 103 and argues that "Caxton is motivated primarily by contemporary political events. In the prologue he points out the similarity between the present historical situation and that at the time of Godfrey of Bouillon," at p. 107. For more on Caxton's *Godeffroy*, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 306–7, and Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 393.
 - 28 Citations from William Caxton, *Godeffroy of Boloyne*, ed. Mary Noyes Colvin, EETS c.s. 64 (London, 1893), pp. 1–5.
 - 29 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 305, and Fichte, "Caxton's Concept of 'Historical Romance,'" p. 110. Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, pp. 7–8, discusses a Protestant reader's treatment of this crusading

- “history” that nonetheless demonstrates persistent interest in holy warfare while expunging such terms as “pope” and “pardon” (i.e., indulgence).
- 30 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 316; Pynson also translated Hayton of Armenia’s recovery treatise sometime in the 1520s; see p. 305. On the printing of medieval romances, see King, “*The Faerie Queene*” and *Middle English Romance*, pp. 29–41; Helen Cooper, “Romance after 1400,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 690–719; and Jordi Sánchez-Martí, “The Printed History of the Middle English Verse Romances,” *Modern Philology* 107(1) (2009): 1–31.
 - 31 Sánchez-Martí, “The Printed History of the Middle English Verse Romances,” pp. 6–18.
 - 32 Citation from Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603), sig. A4v; all citations will be from this edition. For a list of historical works in English dealing with the Turks, mainly translations, printed in England between 1560 and 1610, see Parry, *Richard Knolles’ History of the Turks*, ed. Özbaran, pp. 92–104. While certainly not all of these texts are related to crusading directly, the impressive number and consistency of these publications indicates ongoing interest in the English reading public.
 - 33 See Paolo Giovio, *A Shorte Treatise vpon the Turkes Chronicles*, trans. Peter Ashton (London, 1546), which is actually a translation of the Latin version by Francesco Negri, and Celio Augustino Curione, *A Notable Historie of the Saracens*, trans. Thomas Newton (London, 1575). Giovio, at fol. 2r, identifies the Turks as Scythians who came into Asia Minor and who first organized themselves under a ruler during the time of the First Crusade. In a related fashion, in Newton’s epistle to Curione’s text the translator describes “this historically Discourse” to be about “Saracens, Turks and other Reprobates of the same stampe and Lyuerey” who are “euen at our doores and ready to come into our Houses,” sigs. Atr–Arv. As Dimmock explains in *New Turkes*, Ashton’s treatise was quite influential, being presented to Henry VIII by Lord Morley, one of Thomas More’s circle; it shows that “in the wake of the assertion of Royal Supremacy and break with Rome, certain aspects of a pan-Christian ideology, in particular the symbolic commitment to crusade and consequent static notions of the ‘turke,’ remained current in many English circles,” at p. 47. McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*, observes at p. 60 that in many of these translated histories about the Turks the English translators’ “prefaces and marginalia usually exhibit a greater degree of Christian militancy” than otherwise expected.
 - 34 Knolles, *Generall Historie*, pp. 12–126, citation from sig. Ffffr. See Parry, *Richard Knolles’ History of the Turks*, ed. Özbaran, p. 32, on Knolles’s medieval source for Edward I’s campaign as a prince.
 - 35 Lazaro Soranzo, *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, trans. Abraham Hartwell (London, 1603), sigs. ¶3v–¶4r.
 - 36 On recovery treatises or crusading tracts written outside of England yet across the religious divide, see Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 384, where he notes

- that some writers from the late sixteenth century “adhered to a pattern of thinking which dated back three centuries.”
- 37 See Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 914–15, and France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom*, pp. 292–8, who notes that “The Portuguese, like the Spanish, were fortified by papal assurances about the righteousness of rule over pagans and inspired by the spirit of crusade against the infidel, as well as by a strong feeling that great wealth was there to be taken,” at p. 297. On this subject see also Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration, 1298–1630* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998).
 - 38 France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom*, pp. 292–3; see also Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 182–8.
 - 39 France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom*, p. 296.
 - 40 James Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 111–207, from p. 112.
 - 41 Citation from Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. 10. As Nancy Bisaha puts it, “Medieval perceptions and rhetoric regarding crusade and the Turks were still influential in Renaissance thought, even for humanists who tended to focus on the classical period,” and “A crucial aspect of the formation of the concept of ‘Western civilization’ ... is the ideological struggle against the Ottoman East,” *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), at p. 41 and p. 184, respectively.
 - 42 See Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, and Meserve, *Empires of Islam*. See also Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 384–9, on humanist tracts and crusading plans.
 - 43 See Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe*, pp. 152–9, and his “‘The Common Corps of Christendom’: Thomas More and the Crusading Cause,” in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar*, ed. Norman Housley (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 109–22, citation at p. 117. On Erasmus's views on crusading against the Turks, see Ronald G. Musto, “Just Wars and Evil Empires: Erasmus and the Turks,” in *Renaissance Society and Culture*, ed. John Monfasani and Ronald Musto (New York: Italica Press, 1991), pp. 197–216, and on Luther, Erasmus, and More, see Matthew Dimmock, “‘Machomet dyd before as Luther doth nowe’: Islam, the Ottomans and the English Reformation,” *Reformation* 9 (2004): 99–130.
 - 44 Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, p. 133.
 - 45 *Capistranus* is discussed below; I will examine the crusading status of *Huon of Bordeaux* and Johnson's text in a separate study.
 - 46 On *Guy* as a text engaged with crusading thought, see Rebecca Wilcox, “Romancing the East: Greeks and Saracens in *Guy of Warwick*,” in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. Nicola McDonald (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 217–40, who argues that “Guy's military triumphs compensate for the West's historical losses in the

East, while his moral and spiritual superiority recuperates Latin atrocities against fellow Christians during the Crusades ... Moreover, *Guy* rewrites the history of the Crusades obliquely rather than overtly; the romance does not simply embellish facts or modify major players, but instead places the echoes of these events into a distant past,” at p. 221. For the dates for *Guy* and the other romances, see Sánchez-Martí, “The Printed History of the Middle English Verse Romances,” pp. 6–18.

- 47 Cooper mentions in “Romance after 1400” that *Richard Cœur de Lion* was promoted in early printing because it “is a romance of crusading, and the question of a new crusade against the relentless advance of the Turks ... was the single most important foreign policy issue for Christian Europe at the end of the Middle Ages,” p. 698.
- 48 King, “*The Faerie Queene*” and *Middle English Romance*, p. 29. Although it appears that romances came under attack after the 1570s, Michael Murrin, in “The Audience of *The Faerie Queene*,” *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 23 (1997): 1–21, drawing on the work of Ronald Crane, argues that most attacks on romances were not about the medieval romances but about the “new vogue for Spanish and Portuguese romances,” p. 3.
- 49 On “Placy Dacy,” see Barbara A. Mowat, “‘What’s in a Name’: Tragicomedy, Romance, or Late Comedy,” in *A Companion to Shakespeare’s Works*, ed. Richard Dutton and Jean Howard, 4 vols. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), vol. IV, pp. 129–49, at pp. 136–40. On the *Destruction of Jerusalem* and *Jerusalem* plays, see Stephen K. Wright, *The Vengeance of Our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destruction of Jerusalem* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), pp. 195–208; Wright also notes that Strange’s men performed a play called *Titus and Vespasian* in London in 1591–2, at p. 204. On the scholarly debate over the relationship between Heywood’s play and the *Godfrey* play, see Annaliese Connolly, “Guy of Warwick, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Elizabethan Repertory,” *Early Theatre* 12(2) (2009): 207–22, at pp. 214–15; Roslyn L. Knutson, *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare’s Time* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 58–9, who argues that “Instead of collapsing the plays on apparently similar subjects into a single play ... a [commercial] commentary emphasizes the theatrical popularity of the subject of the conquest of Jerusalem ... that continued from 1592 ... through 1632,” at p. 58; and *Henslowe’s Diary*, ed. W. W. Greg, 2 vols. (London, 1904–8), vol. II, p. 166. On *The Twelve Peers* see Cooper, *English Romance in Time*, p. 414. On Peele’s *Battle of Alcazar* see Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor*, pp. 21–44, and Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 112–34, though I see the play as far more admiring of Sebastian’s crusade campaign – which redirects and redeems Stukeley’s improper crusade against the English – despite its condemnations of the Spanish. For a similar view of Stukeley’s redemption, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 353. For the citation and more on *Guy of Warwick*’s adaptations in early modern period, see Cooper, *English Romance in Time*, pp. 93–5, as well as Connolly, “Guy of Warwick, Godfrey of Bouillon,” pp. 207–10. Additionally, according to Cooper, the translated crusading romance *Huon*

- of *Bordeaux*, reprinted in 1570 and in 1601, was staged sometime before 1593, *English Romance in Time*, p. 420.
- 50 Citations from *Lepanto* in *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, ed. James Craigie (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1955), vol. 1, p. 198, and Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, rev. 2nd edn. (New York: Longman, 2007), p. 714, respectively. All references to these poems are from these editions.
- 51 James Craigie, "Introduction," *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, ed. Craigie, p. lvii.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. lxi and p. xc–cii.
- 53 For historical accounts of the battle, see Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 289–90, and Andrew Hess, "The Battle of Lepanto and its Place in Mediterranean History," *Past and Present* 57(1) (1972): 53–73. As Dimmock explains, despite the battle's lack of lasting military significance, "its influence in terms of England's evolving geo-political position within Europe is crucial ... In England, the reaction to the victory ... was complex. Yet ostensibly ... in common with many other Christian European countries there was popular rejoicing," *New Turkes*, p. 83.
- 54 *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, ed. Craigie, p. 198. However, as Craigie notes at p. 326, this preface was not included in the French translations made by Du Bartas and all editions based on it. This omission potentially opens up the possibility of seeing the poem as a more straightforward crusading text for those readers.
- 55 Craigie, "Introduction," pp. xlvi–xlvi.
- 56 Robert Appelbaum, "War and Peace in 'The Lepanto' of James VI and I," *Modern Philology* 97(3) (2000): 333–63, at p. 345. Appelbaum also draws a parallel to Spenser's *Faerie Queene* at p. 355.
- 57 *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Hamilton, p. 714.
- 58 See Harold L. Weatherby, "The True Saint George," *English Literary Renaissance* 17 (1987): 119–41, who explains Protestant discomfort with the patron saint; Jennifer Fellows, "St George as Romance Hero," *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993): 27–54; and Jonathan Bengston, "Saint George and the Formation of English Nationalism," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27(2) (1997): 317–40.
- 59 Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, p. 37.
- 60 Andrew Hadfield, "Spenser and Religion – Yet Again," *Studies in English Literature* 51(1) (2011): 21–46, at p. 35 and p. 29.
- 61 See Craigie, "Introduction," pp. lxxi–lxxxviii; citation from Murrin, "The Audience of *The Faerie Queene*," p. 9.
- 62 On James's politics, see W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. chs. 1 and 2, and at p. 362, where he acknowledges that, "James's efforts on behalf of church unity can well look like a fantasy of unrealizable hopes and impracticable plans to a modern observer. Seen from the perspective of the Reformation era, however, they look a good deal more credible ... What James wanted to do was

to harness this powerful ideological force [of religion] to achieve a stable and lasting peace in Europe.” Robinson also notes that “James’s poem in fact struggles with the question of religious enmity,” but he had a “wider dream of a union of Protestants and Catholics,” *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, pp. 77–8.

- 63 On the historical defense, see Tyerman, *God’s War*, pp. 866–9.
- 64 All citations of *Capystranus* are from *Middle English Romances*, ed. Stephen H. A. Shepherd (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1995), by line number.
- 65 Bonnie Millar-Heggie, “Sanctity, Savagery and Saracens in *Capystranus*: Fifteenth Century Christian–Ottoman Relations,” *Al-Masāq* 14(2) (2002): 113–21, at p. 120.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 115, for the reason for the reprinting.
- 67 See *Middle English Romances*, ed. Shepherd, p. 401 n. 2.
- 68 For example, Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 350, states, “King James’s *Lepanto* witnesses the splitting of some of the last strands uniting the two halves of Christendom. It was a moment fatal to crusading as a universal Christian institution.” Appelbaum, “War and Peace in ‘The Lepanto’ of James VI and I,” concludes that the poem yearns for peace and uses the Turks “as a symbol of that opposition to peace,” p. 362. Daniel Fischlin, “‘Like a Mercenary Poet’: The Politics and Poetics of James VI’s *Lepanto*,” in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2005), pp. 540–59, views the poem as using “a great Catholic military victory ... to validate a Protestant monarch’s tenuous authority in aesthetic terms,” p. 552, though he finds it “a poem balanced precariously between achieving its stated ends,” p. 556. Astrid Stilma, in “*The Battle of Lepanto*: The Introduction of James VI of Scotland to the Dutch,” in *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government*, ed. Ralph Houlbrooke (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 9–24, argues that, “the *Lepanto* is a much more Protestant poem than has often been realized” because it uses “a deliberate strategy of appropriation,” p. 20. Peter C. Herman, *Royal Poetrie: Monarchic Verse and the Political Imaginary of Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. 170–89, sees James as “maintaining maximum diplomatic advantage while avoiding a firm commitment,” p. 176. In Herman’s view, “The preface ... accommodates the change in political/diplomatic circumstances by trying to tip the poem’s careful balance toward Protestantism, even if this means contradicting what the poem actually says,” p. 177. The citations from the preface are from *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, ed. Craigie, p. 198.
- 69 *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, ed. Craigie, p. 198.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 274.
- 71 Knolles, *Generall Historie*, sig A3r. David M. Bergeron, “‘Are we turned Turks?’: English Pageants and the Stuart Court,” *Comparative Drama* 44(3) (2010): 255–75, comments on a parallel between James’s *Lepanto*, which “sees the Turks in bleak terms,” and Knolles’s “antipathy toward this group,” at p. 256.

- 72 See Emrys Jones, "'Othello,' 'Lepanto' and the Cyprus Wars," *Shakespeare Survey* 21 (1968): 47–52, at pp. 48–50, and Bergeron, "'Are we turned Turks?,'" p. 257 and p. 261.
- 73 The text of the Mountacute masque can be found in George Gascoigne, *The Posies*, ed. John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge University Press, 1907), pp. 75–86, citations from p. 76 and p. 82.
- 74 Jones, "'Othello,' 'Lepanto' and the Cyprus Wars," pp. 48–9, and Bergeron, "'Are we turned Turks?,'" pp. 264–7.
- 75 Knolles, *Generall Historie*, p. 885.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 870.
- 77 Craigie, "Introduction," p. lvii, comments that James was seemingly "unwilling even to mention the name of the Pope, far less give him credit for any achievement whatever."
- 78 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 290.
- 79 *Middle English Romances*, ed. Shepherd, p. 397 n. 2 and p. 401 n. 3.
- 80 An exception is the naming of Terwin and Trevisan in the Despair episode; see John O'Connor, "Terwin, Trevisan, and Spenser's Historical Allegory," *Studies in Philology* 87(3) (1990): 328–40.
- 81 On the location of Book I's world see Michael Murrin's entry on "fairyland" in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton *et al.* (University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 296B–298B, where he states that "Spenser follows this tradition [of fairyland being located in the East]: Una's parents once controlled the lands by the Euphrates, Phison, and Gehon, and the dragon came from Tartary or Tatary, the steppe zone to the north," p. 297A. However, Murrin's more recent extension of this view in "Spenser and the Search for Asian Silk," *Arthuriana* 21(1) (2011): 7–19, finds "connections between Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and English trading expeditions to Muscovy during the 1560s," so that "[Una's] parents live in Armenia, and Redcrosse comes from England. Both Redcrosse and Guyon get involved in feuds with Saracen families," at p. 7 and p. 15, respectively. Kenneth Hodges, "Reformed Dragons: *Bevis of Hampton*, Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*, and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 54(1) (2012): 110–31, expresses a similar view in relation to the dragon, which "becomes an eastern dragon, hinting at the dangers and rewards of adventures beyond England's borders, particularly in journeys eastward, to Tartary and beyond. Red Crosse's fight is an earthly fight, and his trip to the East did reflect Elizabethan concerns with establishing ties there," p. 118. This fight with the dragon, as Hodges continues, "echoes the Muscovy Company's efforts to get through Russia to Persia for diplomatic and commercial profit," p. 127.
- 82 Robinson comments that, "In Spenser criticism, this multivalence [of Saracen identity] has tended to mean that critics have failed to link Spenser's Saracens with any actual historical encounter with Islam," *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, p. 34. Hodges, "Reformed Dragons," also acknowledges multiple levels of meaning, arguing that "Red Crosse's religious challenges

include not simply Muslims abroad and disunity at home, but also the lure of Catholicism. Spenser's dragon is a final conflict against all kinds of sin," p. III.

- 83 Murrin, "The Audience of *The Faerie Queene*," pp. 6–9.
- 84 Elizabeth Fowler, *Literary Character: The Human Figure in Early English Writing* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 179 and p. 186, respectively.
- 85 Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 14–23, describe George's journey in these geographical terms, saying that his journey "involves travelling through a topographically altogether more real and recognizable world, in which he takes on the infidel in single combat and is drawn unerringly eastwards. Like the St George of tradition, he takes his identity as a Westerner from his capacity to convert the infidel by his soldierly prowess and martial fortitude. Scarcely grounded at all in a geographical 'England,' his exploits are referred back to the central locus of *The Faerie Queene* only by association," p. 21.
- 86 The sonnet, "Upon the Historie of George Castriot," is in Edmund Spenser, *The Works of Edmund Spenser: The Minor Poems*, ed. Charles G. Osgood *et al.*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1947), vol. II, p. 265.
- 87 Jacques de Lavardin, *The Historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albanie*, trans. Zachary Jones (London, 1596), sig. ¶iiiiiv. Jones and Spenser were connected through a shared printer, William Ponsonby, who printed the 1590 and 1596 editions of *The Faerie Queene*.
- 88 de Lavardin, *The Historie of George Castriot*, sigs. ¶iiiiiv–¶vr, and *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Hamilton, p. 715.
- 89 The biblical passages are Matthew 16:24 and Luke 14:27. On their use in crusade discourse, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 164; Christoph Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 181 and p. 213; and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 15–16.
- 90 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 16 and pp. 183–4, and his *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, rev. edn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 105. Robert the Monk's version of Urban II's speech at Clermont specifies that "Anyone who has a mind to undertake this holy pilgrimage ... shall wear the sign of the Cross on his forehead or his chest," in *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: "Historia Iherosolimitana"*, trans. Carol Sweetenham (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), p. 82. In Knolles's account of the same event, he states that "in all countries and prouinces in Christendome, were shortly to be seene men of all sorts in great number, with red crosses on their brests (the cognisance of that sacred expedition) readie of themselues to spend both life and goods for the defence of the Christian religion, and recouerie of the Holy land," *Generall Historie*, p. 14. Also, Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 909, comments that, "iconographically red crosses remained associated with crusading."

- 91 Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (London, 1639), p. 27; all citations are from this edition.
- 92 Jardine and Brotton, *Global Interests*, argue that “George is simultaneously English and oriental, patron saint of ‘Britane’ and proud champion of Silene, and martyr of Lydda,” so that he “cannot be England’s champion securely,” pp. 21–2. Hadfield, “Spenser and Religion – Yet Again,” argues that Redcrosse and Una “are clearly characters circumscribed by traditional forms of literature and thought,” p. 35.
- 93 Hodges observes that “Red Crosse’s Christianity leads him back from the hill of Contemplation into the world, where his fight for Una’s rights and lands in the East is an acceptable form of Christian service that resonates with, but is distinct from, the heavenly sights of Revelation and the abstractions of pure theology,” “Reformed Dragons,” pp. 111–12, but he finds that “The physical location of Paradise does not become a significant issue: when Sansloy pursues Una, there is no sustained allegory about the Muslim conquest of holy lands, and there are no moments that seem to dramatize the crossing of geographical or political borders in Red Crosse’s quest,” p. 123. As I see it, the latter view ignores the multiple layers of meaning assigned to Una’s parents and the dragon from the beginning of the poem.
- 94 *Robert the Monk’s History*, trans. Sweetenham, p. 81.
- 95 This language of the “Satanical” Turks was also used in Spenser’s time. In Newton’s translation of Curione’s *A Notable Historie*, the author states in his preface that “*Constantinople* might be agayn recouered . . . and a great number of Christian cuntries now lyuyng in perpetual moorning, & pitiful slauery might bee deliuered out of the thraldome of vnsufferable tyrants, that Sathanical crew of Turkish lurdens [rascals] might be expulsed and driuen to trudge out of all *Europa*, and the sincere profession of christian religion there eftsones planted and truely acknowledged,” sig. B4v.
- 96 Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, p. 35.
- 97 Harris, “Publicising the Crusade,” pp. 31–7, and *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. Daniel Vitkus, introduction by Nabil Matar (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 1–52.
- 98 Vitkus remarks that the account is “nearly free of anti-Catholic attitudes and celebrates the common cause of Christians who were victimized by their Islamic masters,” *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption*, ed. Vitkus, p. 57.
- 99 *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Hamilton, n. to canto 11, stanza 3.
- 100 See Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, pp. 35–6, and Justin Kolb, “‘In th’armor of a Pagan knight’: Romance and Anachronism East of England in Book V of *The Faerie Queene* and *Tamburlaine*,” *Early Theatre* 12(2) (2009): 194–207, who stresses how the Souldan in Book V represents “several tyrants from the English imagination simultaneously, standing in for Persian Darius, Turkish Selimus, and Spanish Philip while prefiguring the antichrist,” p. 196.
- 101 Though Spenser in all likelihood did not know Knolles’s history, his account of Lucifera suggestively parallels aspects of Knolles’s description of the

- empire of the Turks, which “is growne to that height of pride” through “an ardent and infinit desire of soueraignetie,” and breaks laws through its “diuellish policie,” which the Turks use “to entangle other princes in, vntill they haue singled out him whom they purpose to deuour,” *Generall Historie*, sigs. A4v–A5r.
- 102 Harold L. Weatherby, *Mirrors of Celestial Grace: Patristic Theology in Spenser’s Allegory* (University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 61–75, and Hadfield, “Spenser and Religion – Yet Again,” pp. 31–5.
- 103 See Kenneth Hodges, “Making Arthur Protestant: Translating Malory’s Grail Quest into Spenser’s Book of Holiness,” *Review of English Studies* 62(254) (2011): 193–211, p. 211 for a similar view of Spenser’s attitude toward the medieval tradition comparing Galahad to George.
- 104 See note 127 below, for the debate on Marlowe’s knowledge of Knolles. For Shakespeare’s use of Knolles in *Othello*, see Michael Neill, “Introduction,” p. 18, and “Appendix A,” pp. 399–404, in William Shakespeare, *Othello, the Moor of Venice*, ed. Michael Neill (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- 105 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 349, and Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 454.
- 106 See Mark Thornton Burnett, “*Tamburlaine the Great, Parts One and Two*,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Patrick Cheney (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 127–43.
- 107 See the relevant chapters in the following works: Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness*, who views Tamburlaine as an instance of “imperialist self-fashioning” that the play then problematizes, at p. 81; Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, who argues that the plays appeal to English competition “for eastern luxuries,” p. 42; Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, who sees Tamburlaine as seeking “an empire created by individual will,” p. 75, and notes that his “role as Christianity’s friend becomes less clear” in the second play, p. 73; Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, who similarly sees a distinction between the first play, in which Tamburlaine protects Europe, and the second, which foregrounds his religious difference and questions its audience’s assumptions about Islam; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, who describes Part I of *Tamburlaine* as having “exclusive recourse to essentially ‘medieval’ source material . . . [that] manages to conspicuously avoid all mention of England in relation to the Ottoman Empire,” p. 148, though he believes that Part II “breaks away from the essentially ‘medieval’ conception of Islam and of Christian/Muslim oppositions that dominate the first part,” p. 154; and McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*, who sees the plays as subversive for how they “free [Tamburlaine and Bajazeth] from the containing narratives and moralizing glosses of Christian humanist history,” p. 89. More recently Jane Grogan has argued in “‘A warre . . . commodious’: Dramatizing Islamic Schism in and after *Tamburlaine*,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 54(1) (2012): 45–78, that Tamburlaine is “both England’s dream ruler and its demon,” p. 61, and she views his burning of the Koran as a sign of the Islamic schism between Persia, a potential ally likened to Protestant England, and the Turks.

- 108 On the frequent combination of politics and religious difference in Marlowe's other plays, see Paul Whitfield White, "Marlowe and the Politics of Religion," in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Cheney, pp. 70–89; David Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Faber and Faber, 2004); and *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe: Fresh Cultural Contexts*, ed. Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).
- 109 All citations of Marlowe's plays are from *Tamburlaine the Great*, ed. J. S. Cunningham (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981) by part, act, scene, and line number.
- 110 See Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence, Conversion, and the Crusade against the Turks," *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 164–87, esp. pp. 170–2, for this dual idea of potential conversion and of shaming Christians into action in relation to Mehmed II, who was rumored to be ready for conversion because of the kindness he showed to Christians, while early modern analyses of the Turkish government were meant largely as satire on Christian institutions and practices.
- 111 For a summary of the debate, see Ian Gaskell, "2 *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe's 'War against the Gods,'" *English Studies in Canada* 11(2) (1985): 178–92. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (University of Chicago Press, 1980), suggests that this scene challenges the tendency to look for divine punishment and reward at p. 202.
- 112 One apparent exception is the conquest of the "mighty Christian priest / Called John the Great" (1.3.187–8), or the legendary Prester John, in Part II; however, since John is merely compelled to "swear obedience" (1.3.190), Marlowe's point here may have more to do with Prester John's role in the long chain of potential crusading allies in the East. That is, since John never actually aided the European Christians, his service here to Tamburlaine – another figure in that tradition – may simply be a way of cementing Tamburlaine's commitment to oppose Eastern Muslims actively.
- 113 J. S. Cunningham, "Introduction," in *Tamburlaine the Great*, ed. Cunningham, p. 16, and Richard Martin, "Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and the Language of Romance," *PMLA* 93(2) (1978): 248–64, at pp. 262–3. Martin also comments that, "Tamburlaine's achievement ranks with the crusades of *Bevis of Hampton* and *Richard Cœur de Lion*," p. 262.
- 114 Kirk Melnikoff, "Jones's Pen and Marlowe's Socks: Richard Jones, Print Culture, and the Beginnings of English Dramatic Literature," *Studies in Philology* 102(2) (2005): 184–209, at p. 209.
- 115 Richard Levin, "The Contemporary Perception of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 1 (1984): 51–70.
- 116 Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, p. 73; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, p. 145; and Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, p. 62. See also Roslyn L. Knutson, "Elizabethan Documents, Captivity Narratives, and the Market for Foreign History Plays," *English Literary Renaissance* 26(1) (1996): 75–110, who relates the *Tamburlaine* plays to the larger "rhetoric of almsgiving" and interest in captivity narratives

- about Englishmen and other Christians captured by the Turks in the Mediterranean at pp. 99–100.
- 117 Citation from *Three Middle English Charlemagne Romances*, ed. Alan Lupack (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1990), lines 234–5.
- 118 Vitkus notes this connection in relation to early modern texts as well: “The followers of ‘sleepy Mahomet’ are, in one sense, a version of the boasting Saracens of the romance tradition, whose invocations of Mahound and other idols prove ineffective in their confrontations with Christian knighthood. Bajazeth and Zabina sound much like the fictional Saracens who curse their own deities in the *chansons de geste* or in early modern romances by Tasso, Ariosto, and Spenser,” *Turning Turk*, pp. 56–7.
- 119 Adam Knobler writes that, “Timur is thus established, in his own lifetime, as part of a longer, historical continuum of eastern crusading allies, stretching from Prester John to the Il-khans of Iran, in whom the Latin courts of Europe of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century had placed the hopes of a crusading alliance. Such earlier alliances had followed upon just such a series of events (crusader defeat, followed by a vanquishing of the Muslim victors by a previously unknown force) and, for many interpreters, the explanation was the same: Timur was, in truth, a Christian who shared Latin animosity toward Islam and its rulers,” in “Timur the (Terrible/Tartar) Trope: A Case of Repositioning in Popular Literature and History,” *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 7(1) (2001): 101–12, at p. 103. See also Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, pp. 203–23.
- 120 Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, ed. and trans. E. M. Thompson, 2nd edn. (London, 1904), p. 227.
- 121 See *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde: Chronica et annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1866), p. 336, my translation. This account is now thought to be by William Wintershill; on the authorship question see the introduction to Thomas Walsingham, *The Chronica maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376–1422*, ed. James G. Clark and trans. David Preest (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), p. 19.
- 122 *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, ed. Henry Ellis, 3rd series (London, 1846), vol. 1, pp. 54–8, my translation.
- 123 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- 124 See *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources*, ed. Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 82–96, for relevant selections from Mexía and Whetstone. However, unlike Mexía, Whetstone expresses doubts about the connection between Tamburlaine and the Sophy; see George Whetstone, *The English Mirror* (London, 1586), pp. 82–3. On the similar treatment of Tamburlaine, Uzun Hasan, and Shah Ismail, see Adam Knobler, “Pseudo-Conversions and Patchwork Pedigrees: The Christianization of Muslim Princes and the Diplomacy of Holy War,” *Journal of World History* 7(2) (1996): 181–97, at pp. 190–4; Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, pp. 223–37; and Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 138–40. Also see Palmira Brummett, “The Myth of Shah Ismail Safavi: Political Rhetoric and ‘Divine’

- Kingship,” in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. John Tolan (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 331–60.
- 125 Levin, “The Contemporary Perception of Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*,” points out at p. 56 that Robert Greene’s play *Selimus* (c. 1588) portrays Tonombey, the son of the sultan of Egypt, as appealing to “great Usan-Cassano’s ghost, / Companion unto mighty Tamburlaine, / From whom my father lineally descends” (25.17–19), which, as the play’s most recent editor notes, is likely Greene’s attempt to displace Marlowe’s plays with his own by revising their history; see *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, ed. Daniel Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
- 126 See Knolles, *Generall Historie*, pp. 1005–15 for this view of the Persian war distracting the Turks.
- 127 Hugh G. Dick, “‘Tamburlaine’ Sources Once More,” *Studies in Philology* 46(2) (1949): 154–66, is an early argument for Marlowe’s knowledge of Knolles’s history in manuscript form. Thomas and Tydeman in *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources*, p. 79, and McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*, p. 122, agree, but Parry largely questions this notion; see *Richard Knolles’ History of the Turks*, ed. Özbaran, p. 81 n. 56.
- 128 *Richard Knolles’ History of the Turks*, ed. Özbaran, pp. 61–2, and McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*, pp. 122–32.
- 129 Knolles, *Generall Historie*, pp. 223–4.
- 130 *Ibid.*, pp. 226–7.
- 131 *Ibid.*, p. 211.
- 132 Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. 226.
- 133 See Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, pp. 57–68.
- 134 See Matthew Dimmock, “‘Captive to the Turke’: Responses to the Anglo-Ottoman Capitulations of 1580,” in *Cultural Encounters between East and West, 1453–1699*, ed. Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), pp. 43–63, at pp. 53–6, where various treatises suggest “that the ideological divisions established by the early crusades were still very much current (at least for propagandist purposes) in Catholic Europe,” p. 54, and where they “contribute to a general militarism of English culture in the 1590s in which the ‘turke’ played a significant part,” p. 56.
- 135 Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, pp. 74–7, and Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 145–6.
- 136 Ashton says in his author’s epistle “we may take good occasion ... to amend our owen turkishe and synfull lyues, seyng that God, of his infynite goodnes and loue towardes vs, sufferethe the wicked and cursed seed of Hismael to be a scourge to whip vs for our synnes, and by this means to cal vs home agayne,” in Giovio, *A Shorte Treatise*, trans. Ashton, sig. *.5v.
- 137 *Ibid.*, fols. 139v–140v, and Curione, *A Notable Historie*, trans. Newton, sig B4v. Ashton notes in his opening epistle the “glad and ioyful tydings to vs christyen men” provided by the Christian victory at Belgrade and by the news that “Ta[m]berlayn toke the great Turke Baiazet prisoner and al his lyfe

after vsed hym like a vyle drudge,” sig. *.4v. Additionally, Newton repeats Curione’s sentiment about the need for Christians to unite against the Turks in his dedication.

- 138 Foxe, *TAMO* (1570 edition), p. 897.
- 139 One might read Orcanes’s sharing his victory with Mohammed and Christ as the same mixing of religious powers that Elizabeth I made in her alliance with the Ottomans; in this respect, since Orcanes is subsequently defeated by Tamburlaine, who rejects Islam entirely at the end of Part II, the play would be taking a negative view on Elizabeth’s alliance. Newton’s translation of Curione, by comparison, treats the loss at Varna as both a foolish move and as the result of Christian infighting, specifically the betrayal of the Genoese in allowing the Turks to defeat the Christians: Curione, *A Notable Historie*, trans. Newton, pp. 130^r–130^v.
- 140 Knobler comments that, “While the Timur of the Elizabethan and Stuart eras is portrayed as an agent of the Christian God, we find no hint of his own conversion ... Timur would be seen as standing somehow outside the traditions of Christian–Muslim conflict, as an agent for the Christians while not being specifically marked as Christian himself,” “Timur the (Terrible/Tartar) Trope,” p. 104. I argue, however, that we can see precisely that hint of conversion in Marlowe’s plays; perhaps even Techelles’s prayer about the dying Tamburlaine, “Then let some god oppose his holy power / Against the wrath and tyranny of Death” (2:5.3.220–1), could be seen as referring to the Christian God who “defeated death” and thus presages Tamburlaine’s “hope of ... recovery” (2:5.3.215) in the Christian afterlife.
- 141 All citations of Heywood’s play from Thomas Heywood, *Thomas Heywood’s “The Four Prentices of London”*: A Critical, Old-Spelling Edition, ed. Mary Ann Weber Gasior (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980), by line number.
- 142 Citation from Mary Ann Weber Gasior, “Introduction,” *ibid.*, p. xlvii.
- 143 *Ibid.*, p. vii and pp. xxx–xxxii. On its relation to other Jerusalem plays and their general popularity, see Knutson, *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare’s Time*, pp. 58–9.
- 144 Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 142–3.
- 145 Fenella Macfarlane, “To ‘Try What London Prentices Can Do’: Merchant Chivalry as Representational Strategy in Thomas Heywood’s *The Four Prentices of London*,” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 13 (2001): 136–64, at p. 158. Macfarlane is certainly correct to argue that, “Jerusalem, as the chief site of the apprentices’ conquest, thus allows for both an ennobling invocation of the Crusades and a Holy City and an appeal to contemporary English merchants’ enormous ambitions in the region,” at pp. 153–4, but her claim at p. 147 that the brothers “are always the ‘four prentices of London’ and it will only be at certain (and rare) junctures that we are reminded that they are noble-born” is overstated, since their innate nobility, not their trade, allows them to acquire troops and defeat the infidels. See also Kathleen McLuskie, *Dekker and Heywood: Professional Dramatists*

- (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), p. 60, for a similar view of the play that also links its religious conflict with the later anti-Islamic interests of James I's reign.
- 146 Connolly, "Guy of Warwick, Godfrey of Bouillon," pp. 219–20.
- 147 See Mark Thornton Burnett, "Marlovian Imitation and Interpretation in Heywood's *The Four Prentices of London*," *Cahiers Élisabéthains* 32 (1987): 75–8.
- 148 Gasior, "Introduction," *Thomas Heywood's "The Four Prentices of London"*, pp. xviii–xxiii.
- 149 Richard Johnson, *The Nine Worthies of London* (London, 1592), citations from sigs. F3r–F3v. Additionally, Johnson's work praises the historical John Hawkwood's crusades for the pope in Italy and Spain, while the tale of John Bonham imagines the hero's defense of the Danish king against "Great Solimon the Turkish Emperor" using "a Christians deadly hate, / Against the heathen that our blood doth sip," sigs. D4v–E1r.
- 150 This idea is confirmed when in the concluding speech Robert says they all should visit Jesus' tomb "With humble hearts to pay our Pilgrimes vowes" (2572), after which they will return to their countries.
- 151 Macfarlane specifically notes this pattern of loss and recovery when she argues that, "Within the drama, the overall strategy of analeptic crusading is echoed by Heywood's representation of the apprentice's journey to Jerusalem as one of Christian *return* . . . When the Christian crusaders arrive in Jerusalem, they each narrate a part of this history and Christendom's 'loss' to Islam," "To 'Try What London Prentices Can Do'," at p. 154.
- 152 Although likely just a reference to an imaginary, authenticating "source" or to Heywood's own draft of the play, it is possible that Heywood is referring to something like the history of the crusades in English in British Library MS Royal 18 B XXVI, composed during the reign of Henry VIII.
- 153 See, for example, the rather typical account in Caxton, *Godeffroy of Boloynes*, ed. Colvin, pp. 271–2.
- 154 *A Famous Victorie, Atchiued in August last 1613 by the Christian Gallies of Sicilia, against the Turkes* (London, 1613).
- 155 *Ibid.*, sigs. A3r–A3v.
- 156 *Ibid.*, sig. A3v.
- 157 *Ibid.*
- 158 *Ibid.*
- 159 *Ibid.*, sigs. A3v–A4r.
- 160 *Ibid.*, sig. A4r.
- 161 *Ibid.*, sig. A4v.
- 162 *Ibid.*
- 163 *Ibid.*
- 164 The author returns to this idea at the end of his description of the battle when he notes that one of the leaders of the Turkish forces in 1613 was "sonne to the same *Haly Bassa* that was Generall at *Lepanto*," showing that his family was "predestinated to increase the honor of Christians with their ruine and captiuitie," *ibid.*, sig. B2v.

- 165 *A Famous Victorie*, sig. B3r. For a brief commentary on the play's emphasis on the "unseemly squabbles and rivalries among the various Christian forces," see Linda McJannet, "Bringing in a Persian," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 12 (1999): 236–67, at p. 252.
- 166 See Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, pp. 57–68, and Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 87–III.
- 167 Knolles, *Generall Historie*, sig. A4v.
- 168 See Thomas Heywood, *Thomas Heywood's "The Four Prentices of London,"* ed. Gasior, p. 121 n. 106. However, Guy was not, as Gasior states, the candidate supported by Philip II of France, but the one supported by Richard I of England.
- 169 See, for instance, Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 201–2, and Karl P. Wentersdorf, "On 'Momtanish Inhumanity' in *Sir Thomas More*," *Studies in Philology* 103(2) (2006): 178–85, at p. 184.
- 170 All citations of the play are from William Shakespeare, *Othello, the Moor of Venice*, ed. Michael Neill (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), by act, scene, and line number. See Emily Bartels, "Making More of the Moor: Aaron, Othello, and Renaissance Refashionings of Race," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41(4) (1990): 433–54, and Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, pp. 233–56. On the various racial implications of Othello's identity as a Moor, see Michael Neill, "'Mulattos,' 'Blacks,' and 'Indian Moors': *Othello* and Early Modern Constructions of Human Difference," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 49(4) (1998): 361–74, at pp. 364–5.
- 171 See for instance Bartels, "Making More of the Moor"; Daniel Vitkus, "Turning Turk in *Othello*: The Conversion and Damnation of the Moor," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48(2) (1997): 145–76; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 198–207; Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, pp. 71–81; Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor*, pp. 155–90; and Bergeron, "Are we turned Turks?," pp. 264–7. Graham Holderness, in "'Strangers ... with vs in Venice,'" in *Visions of Venice in Shakespeare*, ed. Laura Tosi and Shaul Bassi (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 125–41, summarizes the ambivalent references in Othello's final speech and suicide: "Othello kills *himself*, and thereby indelibly associates himself with the Other, the enemy of Venice, the stranger, the alien, the malignant, turbaned, and circumcised: the Muslim. In this one speech Othello associates himself with Christianity, Judaism and Islam. His words point not to the West, but to the East: towards Jerusalem and Mekkah," at p. 134.
- 172 See Jones, "'Othello,' 'Lepanto' and the Cyprus Wars," and Virginia Mason Vaughan, "Supersubtle Venetians: Richard Knolles and the Geopolitics of Shakespeare's *Othello*," in *Visions of Venice in Shakespeare*, ed. Tosi and Bassi, pp. 19–32.
- 173 Cherrell Guilfoyle, "Othello, Otuel, and the English Charlemagne Romances," *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 38(149) (1987): 50–5.
- 174 Dimmock, *New Turkes*, p. 203; Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, p. 71; and Vaughan, "Supersubtle Venetians," p. 29. Moreover, all

of these critics agree that Othello's death shows the failure of this romance story. Dimmock links the play to Marlowe, arguing that "it is Tamburlaine with whom Othello shares the closest affinity ... [because] both offer an embryonic fantasy of the incorporation of an 'alien' warrior/region in a crusade against 'the Ottomites,'" p. 204; Robinson, comparing the play to Ariosto's romance, states that, "Where Ariosto fantasizes an erotic, dynastic, and political incorporation of the 'Saracen' world by way of its most powerful hero, Shakespeare dramatizes the failure of this romance and the descent of his Moorish general into murder and suicide," p. 2; and Vaughan concludes that Othello's ending speech "suggests a final recognition that he is both Turk and crusader," p. 29.

- 175 On the meaning of the characters' names, see *Othello*, ed. Neill, pp. 193–4.
- 176 Jonathan Bate, "Shakespeare's Islands," in *Shakespeare and the Mediterranean*, ed. Tom Clayton, Susan Brock, and Vicente Forés (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), pp. 289–307, and Vaughan, "Supersubtle Venetians," p. 26. Bate raises the possibility that "One might even go so far as to identify that enemy [Iago] with Catholicism and Spanish sympathy," at p. 295, but views the play as implying "that the real danger to the isle [of Cyprus] comes from the internal collapse of civil society" p. 297.
- 177 Vitkus, "Turning Turk in *Othello*," pp. 154–71, citation at p. 171.
- 178 Knolles, *Generall Historie*, pp. 867–8.
- 179 *Ibid.*, p. 885.
- 180 *Ibid.*, p. 902.
- 181 See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 367–70, Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 379, and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 283–5 and p. 297, for brief statements of diminished English involvement after the early sixteenth century resulting from the Reformation. Earlier studies of the Reformation, such as G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England, 1509–1558* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977) and A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2nd edn. (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1991), tend to portray it as a radical break and ignore early modern interest in crusading.
- 182 Knolles, *Generall Historie*, p. 1, pp. 128–9 and sig. Gggggv.
- 183 *Ibid.*, sig. Fffffr.
- 184 Fuller, *Historie of the Holy Warre*, p. 244.
- 185 See *ibid.*, p. 277, where Fuller wonders "Whether this Holy warre, I mean, for the winning of the citie of Jerusalem and recovering of Palestine, will probably ever hereafter be projected and acted again."
- 186 *Ibid.*, p. 228.
- 187 *Ibid.*, p. 263 and p. 266.
- 188 *Ibid.*, p. 10 and p. 285.
- 189 *Ibid.*, p. 11 and p. 277.
- 190 *Ibid.*, pp. 282–6, citations at p. 282 and p. 285.
- 191 *Ibid.*, pp. 277–8.
- 192 Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 874.

CONCLUSION

- 1 On the end of crusading see Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 452–6; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 297–8; and Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006), pp. 917–22.
- 2 For the “Matters” see W. R. J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (New York: Longman, 1987); for “homiletic romance,” see Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1968), pp. 120–58; for “secular hagiography” see Ojars Kratins, “The Middle English *Amis and Amiloun*: Chivalric Romance or Secular Hagiography,” *PMLA* 81(5) (1966): 347–54 and Diana Childress, “Between Romance and Legend: ‘Secular Hagiography’ in Middle English Literature,” *Philological Quarterly* 57 (1978): 311–22.
- 3 Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 33–78, citation from p. 73. See also James Turner Johnson, *The Holy War Idea in Western and Islamic Traditions* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1997), pp. 50–6 and pp. 84–9.
- 4 See Johnson, *The Holy War Idea*, pp. 57–60.
- 5 Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (London, 1639), p. 13.
- 6 See Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999), pp. 7–9.
- 7 Fuller, *Historie of the Holy Warre*, p. 242.
- 8 See the introduction to Francis Bacon, *Advertisement Touching an Holy Warre*, in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. J. Spedding *et al.* (London, 1859), vol. VII, pp. 3–7, and to Francis Bacon, *An Advertisement Touching a Holy War*, introduction by Laurence Lampert (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 2000), pp. 1–5. All citations will be from Spedding *et al.*'s edition.
- 9 Bacon, *Advertisement*, p. 15.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 16 Jerry Weinberger, “On Bacon's *Advertisement Touching a Holy War*,” *Interpretation: A Journal of Political Philosophy* 9 (1981): 191–206, citation at p. 192; Laurence Lampert, “Interpretative Essay,” in *An Advertisement Touching a Holy War*, introduction by Lampert, pp. 41–82; and Ralph Lerner, “The ‘Jihad’ of St Alban,” *Review of Politics* 64(1) (2002): 5–26.
- 17 See Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, pp. 473–501.
- 18 *Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. Spedding *et al.*, pp. 5–6.
- 19 J. Max Patrick, “Hawk versus Dove: Francis Bacon's Advocacy of a Holy War by James I against the Turks,” *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 4(1) (1971): 159–72, at p. 167.

- 20 Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, p. 124, p. 273, p. 310, p. 336, p. 347, and p. 481. Furthermore, in essays called “Of Goodnesse and Goodnesse of Nature” and “Of Nobility,” Bacon calls the Turks a “Cruell People” who live under “pure, and absolute Tyranny,” respectively; see Francis Bacon, *Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Israel Gollancz, 3rd edn. (London, 1899), citations at p. 42 and p. 45.
- 21 Glenn Burgess, “Wars of Religion and Royalist Political Thought,” in *England’s Wars of Religion, Revisited*, ed. Charles W. A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 169–92, citations at p. 175.
- 22 Bacon, *Advertisement*, p. 22; see Fuller, *Historie of the Holy Warre*, p. 285. This borrowing was noted by C. F. Beckingham, “Parallel Passages in Bacon and Fuller,” *Review of English Studies* 13(52) (1937): 449–53, at p. 449.
- 23 Fuller, *Historie of the Holy Warre*, p. 242; the original passage in Bacon’s text reads, “The justice of every action consisteth in the merits of the cause, the warrant of the jurisdiction, and the form of the prosecution,” *Advertisement*, p. 28.
- 24 Bacon, *Advertisement*, p. 35 and p. 36.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 26 See Tyerman, *God’s War*, pp. 918–19.
- 27 Bacon, *Advertisement*, p. 19.

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